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A Soviet soldier expressed his attitude toward the pullout as his armored unit began leaving Afghanistan along a northern highway.

## Afghan Rebels Reported Set for Action

By Michael Dobbs  
Washington Post Staff Writer

MOSCOW — Soviet officials said Tuesday that tens of thousands of mujahidin rebels were planning to cut key roads and blockade provincial cities in Afghanistan following the final withdrawal of Soviet troops next week. Soviet news reports and official briefings suggested that the Karamovs expected a sharp flare-up in the fighting after the pullout ends on Feb. 15. But, despite verbal support for President Najib, there is no indication that the Soviets are prepared to take decisive measures to prop up his government.

In a dispatch from Kabul, Tass news agency said the Afghan Army had warned residents along the Salang highway north of the capital to leave their homes because of the expected increase in fighting. A similar warning was issued by the Soviet Army on Jan. 23, just before a bombardment of suspected guerrilla positions.

At the time, U.S. State Department spokesmen accused the Soviets of pursuing a "scorched-earth policy" in Afghanistan, killing hundreds of civilians. Soviet military leaders said their only aim was to open up departure routes for their troops as well as allowing convoys

of food and fuel to reach Kabul. Tass quoted the high command of the Afghan Army as saying that "extremist opposition units" were continuing to attack the convoys.

Tass also reported Tuesday that the Moslem insurgents were seeking to demoralize government troops by shelling provincial towns and military outposts. The agency said that "dozens of mines and rockets" had hit the airport at Kandahar, Afghanistan's second largest city, during the past 24 hours.

Tass further reported that Afghan aircraft had pounded guerrilla positions in the southwestern district of Angil. It said government

forces also carried out an operation to rout the mujahidin in the province of Kunduz.

New casualty estimates issued by the Soviet authorities suggest that Soviet troops sustained heavier than normal losses during the 10-month withdrawal period, despite a reduction in direct combat operations. Many of the Soviet servicemen were reported to have been killed as a result of shelling by mujahidin.

The Soviet foreign minister, Eduard A. Shevardnadze, said at a press conference in Islamabad, Pa.

See AFGHAN, Page 6

## U.S. Reports Israeli Abuses

Human Rights Violations Are Cited in Territories

By Robert Pear  
New York Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — The United States, in a report on human rights, said Tuesday that Israel's response to the Palestinian uprising "led to a substantial increase in human rights violations" in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip last year.

The State Department criticized human rights practices in the occupied territories, saying that Israeli troops caused "many avoidable deaths and injuries."

The report noted that the Israeli authorities sometimes persecuted or discriminated against Palestinian persons and settlers who killed Palestinians.

But it said, "Regulations were not rigorously enforced; punishments were usually lenient, and there were many cases of unjustified killing which did not result in disciplinary actions or prosecutions."

The findings were contained in the State Department's annual report on human rights practices around the world.

In an introduction to the report, Richard Schifter, assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs, said there had been an increase in respect for rights in the Soviet Union, Hungary and Poland.

"We still cannot say that there has been a fundamental shift in the Soviet Union's approach to human rights," he said, adding that "advocates of significant systemic reform appear to have gained strength."

The "most significant human rights violations of the year 1988," measured by their severity and by the number of people affected, occurred in Iraq, Burundi and Sudan, Mr. Schifter said.

The chapter on Israel always receives special attention because Israel is the largest recipient of U.S. aid, this year getting \$1.8 billion in military assistance and \$1.2 billion in economic aid.

The section on human rights

practices in the occupied territories is the most precise, detailed and comprehensive assessment of such conditions to date.

The report said there was more information available about the

Israel says the PLO has killed 5 Palestinians recently. Page 6.

territories than about many countries because of "Israel's open and democratic society."

As part of the uprising, young Palestinians threw stones and firebombs at Israeli security forces, erected barricades and burned tires so as to interfere with traffic, the report notes.

"The Israeli Defense Forces, caught by surprise and untrained and inexperienced in riot control, responded in a manner which led to a substantial increase in human rights violations," the report said.

"Figures compiled from press, Palestinian and Israeli government sources indicate that 366 Palestinians were killed in 1988 as a result of the uprising, most of them by the IDF, some by Israeli settlers," the report said.

"Thirteen Palestinians were killed by other Palestinians for suspected collaboration with Israeli forces."

See RIGHTS, Page 6



In Jerusalem, an Israeli border guard paused while searching a Palestinian Tuesday after noting a photographer's presence.

## Bush Sets Freeze on Pentagon

Aides Say Plan Cuts \$6.4 Billion In 1990 Outlays

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON — The Bush administration, in a compromise settling a major internal budget debate, will propose freezing U.S. military spending next year at the level of inflation to help pay for expanded domestic programs, administration sources said Tuesday.

The \$1.15 trillion budget proposal for fiscal 1990, which President George Bush is to deliver to Congress on Thursday, would cut the military budget sought by Ronald Reagan for the coming four years.

The administration sources said Mr. Bush would seek to freeze military spending in 1990, and ask for increases of 1 percent over inflation for the next two years, and 2 percent for 1993.

Mr. Bush proclaimed Tuesday that his document was "pretty well finalized."

The budget plan is being closely watched as an indicator of the new administration's priorities and of Mr. Bush's ability to fulfill his campaign promise to build a "kinder, gentler nation."

It is also the opening move of Mr. Bush's strategy for reducing the federal budget deficit \$100 billion by 1990 and making it vanish by the year 1993, as the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings law requires.

Mr. Bush said his budget would make a "strong beginning" toward meeting his major campaign promises.

The president is to present his 1990 budget plan in a speech to a joint session of Congress at 9 P.M. Washington time Thursday (0200 Friday GMT).

Mr. Bush met with his budget director, Richard Darman, Vice President Dan Quayle and others to put the finishing touches on the spending plan.

Mr. Bush then went to Capitol Hill, where he told both Republican and Democratic groups he would reach out to Congress to try to forge a consensus budget.

"I am under no illusions that we are going to keep everybody happy," Mr. Bush told Senate Republicans at a luncheon.

Of his new budget plan, Mr. Bush said, "It will meet my fundamental commitments made to the American people in terms of not going out there and raising taxes. It will make, I think, a strong beginning in some of the areas that a lot of us talked about in the past campaign: the environment, education, certainly anti-narcotics."

"It's not going to be without controversy," he added.

Mr. Bush also visited with the Senate Democrats, delivering essentially the same message, and then met in closed sessions with House Republican leaders and the

See BUDGET, Page 6

## For Soldiers of 2 Unsatisfactory Wars, Memories Are Bitter

Soviet Troops Feel Their Leaders Let Them Down

By John F. Burns  
New York Times Staff Writer

MOSCOW — As Soviet troops return from Afghanistan to flag-waving welcomes at the Soviet border, some of those left behind are giving vent to the frustrations and disillusionment common to an army in retreat.

A front-page article in Pravda on Monday, and coverage in other major newspapers, offered glimpses that seemed unsettlingly reminiscent of the American withdrawal from Vietnam. Instead of the brave claims heard in Moscow about the Kremlin's having fulfilled its commitments to a Communist ally, officers leaving the front voiced the muted bitterness of men who felt that those who sent them had let them down.

None of those who spoke out risked saying that the decision to move into Afghanistan in December 1979 had been a mistake. But the chagrin was

pervasive in talk about poor clothing and equipment, combat lessons that had taken nine years to learn, and a headquarters bureaucracy that has made soldiers wait a year and more for medals earned in combat.

The account in Pravda, the Communist Party newspaper, focused on a transportation battalion that has been running relief convoys through the mountains to Kabul, the Afghan capital.

Quoting unit commanders in the battalion, the newspaper cited cases of soldiers dying in ambushes along the route as the last Soviet units prepared to move north. It gave graphic examples of the soldiers' complaints, including boots so stiff, in the officers' readiness that anybody stepping on a land mine was bound to lose a leg.

Another complaint centered on trucks with no armor plating on the doors or in front of the

See TROOPS, Page 6

Ending Crusade, Iranian Says, 'Is Like Being Dead'

By Patrick E. Tyler  
Washington Post Staff Writer

TEHRAN — "I killed a lot of people during the war," said the Iranian helicopter gunship pilot to the foreigner who had helped push the car to get it started and was now accepting a ride in return.

"A lot of my colleagues got killed, too," he added, staring blankly through the windshield as he picked his way through the choking traffic in Tehran's bazaar district, glancing occasionally into the rear-view mirror at the foreigner — a visiting journalist — in the back seat.

"We fought for a cause, and then the regime accepted Resolution 598," he said, referring to the United Nations cease-fire resolution that went into effect on Aug. 20. To stop so suddenly in a war that meant so much to the nation "is like being dead," he said. "You have nothing to say. Nothing to do. You care for nothing."

This pilot's view, although not representative of the majority view in Iran, nonetheless reflects the deep psychological wounds caused by the war and the healing process that is taking place in this complex society where an estimated one million people perished in an eight-year national struggle with Iraq.

Most Iranians, weary of the strain of the war and terrorized by the missiles fired on their cities, were ecstatic when it ended, according to all political indicators.

But with so many lives lost — a generation decimated — and hundreds of thousands of displaced persons and refugees groping to put their lives back together, the war's aftermath has loosed powerful psychological currents in the population, Western and Iranian analysts say.

Six months after Iran accepted the UN-spon-

See GULF, Page 6

## Thrift Plan: Questions of Cost

Though Deft, Bush's Proposal May Fall Short of Funds

By Nathaniel C. Nash  
New York Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — The Bush administration's plan to aid the troubled U.S. savings and loan industry appears to be a politically deft approach that could win approval from Congress. But the economics of the proposal may be flawed, industry observers said.

Analysts inside and outside of the financial industry warned that the plan, outlined by President George Bush on Monday, to spend tens of billions of dollars over three years to close or sell 350 ailing thrifts could wind up short of money. They also said it could curtail the competitiveness of the industry against overseas rivals and less-regulated concerns, such as money-market mutual fund companies.

"Politically, I think this plan could fit in Congress," said Kenneth A. Guenther, executive vice president of the Independent

Bankers Association. But, he added, "once you start looking at how it is going to be funded, it seems like there are a lot of mirrors in terms of the money flows."

The observers generally praised the administration for devising a

### NEWS ANALYSIS

plan that distributes the burden of the savings crisis — estimated at \$90 billion — by proposing that taxpayers, through the Treasury, pay almost \$40 billion in new money toward the cost of the rescue, while the savings industry picks up the remainder.

Commercial banks, which had been fearful of having to foot the bill for the savings industry debacle, would pay higher deposit insurance premiums. The proceeds would bolster their own insurance fund, in which reserves are now at almost-historic lows.

Paul A. Volcker, the former chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, said Tuesday that while he generally welcomed Mr. Bush's program, the higher insurance premium "goes to the limits of what's tolerable" for the banks, news agencies reported from Washington.

Testifying before the Senate Banking Committee, Mr. Volcker said, "Banks are having enough problems now" because of increased competition. "I don't like to see additional burdens placed on them."

Mr. Bush, speaking to Republican senators on Tuesday, said of the plan, "I think we've got some good proposals out there that will solve the problem." Reuters reported from Washington.

Federal regulators put four thrifts under government management Tuesday.

The industry observers ques-

See ASSESS, Page 14



Mr. Bush meeting Tuesday on the budget with Mr. Darman, left, and Michael Boskin, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers.

## China Reads About 'Mao Tragedy'

By Nicholas D. Kristof  
New York Times Staff Writer

BEIJING — In one of the harshest official appraisals so far of Mao Zedong, a leading Chinese newspaper has said he brought great disasters to the Chinese.

Guangming Daily, an official newspaper with a largely intellectual readership, added that China should not flinch from re-examining the legacy of the man who molded Chinese communism.

The long critique, which took up nearly half a page in Thursday's issue, has aroused attention because it appeared to have official backing and may be a sign of a greater willingness to assess Mao's record. The article was written by Li Rui, a former government official who is one of 200 members of the influential Central Advisory Commission to the Chinese Communist Party.

The article reflected the general decline in esteem for Mao, who dominated the party from the late 1950s until his death in 1976. In his later years, his cult was extraordinary, not only for the number of



See MAO, Page 6

## Cuban Dichotomy: Old Instincts, New Yearnings

By Joseph B. Treaster  
New York Times Staff Writer

HAVANA — The rock music at the youth center was blaring, and the boys who were buddled off to one side had to lean close to hear one another talk. They didn't actually like the music, they said, but there was nothing else to do, nowhere else to go.

They were teen-agers, sons of the Cuban revolution. They had never experienced any way of life other than the communism that Fidel Castro introduced 30 years ago.

But they had been listening to Miami radio stations for years, and several had relatives in Florida and New Jersey. One showed a picture of his father on the steps of a modest house in Hialeah, Florida. They knew there was another way of doing things.

Like many Cubans, the young people have begun to take for granted free education and health care and the guarantee of at least basic housing and food. But they are tired of Cuba's drabness, the lack of dietary variety, the shortages of toothpaste and shampoo. And they are tired of the feeling of confinement that comes from knowing that they are constantly being watched.

They want some fun.

"We don't have poverty like in the States," one of the boys said with unmistakable pride. "There have been a lot of improvements here in 30 years."

But he and another boy said they would gladly leave Cuba to live in the United States. Another in the group of five said he was not sure. The other two said they did not want to leave Cuba.

What did they think about Mr. Castro? "Don't talk politics," one of the boys said, shooting a glance at a nearby man in a gray and blue uniform. "The police will get us."

What about perestroika, the liberalizing changes that are taking place in the Soviet Union? They all beamed. "We should have it here," one boy said.

Mr. Castro says that is not going to happen, since Cuba must remain true to Marxist-Leninist traditions. Experimenting with capitalism, he says, would make his country more vulnerable to the United States.

"It is not that we want to be more virtuous than anyone else, or more pure than anyone else," Mr. Castro said in a recent speech. "We must remember that we are not in the Black Sea but in the Caribbean," adding that Havana was not 90 miles

(145 kilometers) from Odessa but 90 miles from Florida.

Moscow, which has been keeping Cuba afloat with \$5 billion in economic aid annually, thinks Mr. Castro should stop re-suspending his ideas. In early January, the Soviets leaked word that he was being treated for lung cancer and that Moscow was concerned about a successor. But Mr. Castro had neither lost weight nor reduced his public appearances, as the Soviets said he had, and Cuban officials said their leader seemed as healthy as ever. Some Western diplomats speculated that the cancer report was another attempt to steer him into line.

A Cuban in his 30s with a job that brings him into contact with many young people

See CUBA, Page 6



# Soviet Factory Walks a Tightrope Between Competing 'Isms'

By David Remnick  
Washington Post Service

**LVVOV, U.S.S.R.** — There is nothing romantic about the setting for this economic morality play. The Konveyer Industrial Amalgamation, a sprawling plant, squats on the dreary plains outside Lvov.

But Konveyer advertises itself as a glittering symbol of Mikhail Gorbachev's search for economic recovery, an example of both the ideological gambles and limits of his fluid, often improvised, programs for change.

Konveyer also is a symbol of just how hard it is for the Soviet state, after 70 years of failed central planning, to appropriate much of what is called "capitalism" and still call itself "socialist."

The plant's director, Valentin Vologzhin, is a slight, dark man of 51 who has won so much fame as a financial innovator in the Soviet Union that he was made a delegate to the Communist Party conference last June and recently addressed the party's

policy-making organ, the Central Committee.

"They are certainly doing interesting work in Lvov," Leonid Abalkin, the Soviet Union's leading economist, said.

Mr. Vologzhin is best known for beginning a system last year known here as *aktivista* — what Westerners understand as corporate ownership. Konveyer is the first Soviet enterprise since Lenin's New Economic Policy in the 1920s to let industrial employees buy shares in their own company.

The plan, according to its creator, has an ideal outcome: Konveyer will not have to depend on Moscow for capital investments, and workers will have an interest, a stake in the success of their workplace.

"We are looking for new ways to live," Mr. Vologzhin said. "And this seemed ideal."

Konveyer, a 4,000-worker plant that produces automatic loading machines, conveyor belts and other "transportation

systems," started its *perestroika*, or restructuring, not out of any flight of ideological fancy, but out of economic desperation.

Describing the "bleak picture" in the late 1970s, Mr. Vologzhin said, "It was bad, really bad. No one wanted to buy our equipment. Our orders were way off. The quality was poor. We couldn't give customers what they needed, so they had to go elsewhere — usually abroad to Italy and France."

The plant steadily lost rubles, so much so that it had been operating without help from Moscow, which habitually propped up such failures. Konveyer would have gone bankrupt.

Finally, state planners announced in 1981 that the plant director had been "put on a pension." Eventually, they brought in Mr. Vologzhin.

Even before Mr. Gorbachev rose to power in 1985 and introduced the word *perestroika* into the world's economic vocabulary, Mr. Vologzhin began traveling the

world — capitalist and socialist — in search of alternatives. He went to machine-building plants in West Germany, to construction companies in Finland. He visited China, Hungary, Yugoslavia.

The more he traveled, the lighter his ideological baggage felt. And by the time he was ready to start work, it seemed that Mr. Vologzhin had checked all of it in an airport locker. "I was learning from the world," he said.

On Jan. 1, 1988, he instituted the share program. On a voluntary basis, employees can buy up to 10,000 rubles (\$16,200) in shares. The shares, which come in 50 ruble notes, can be traded back to the factory bank at any time for their original value.

According to Mr. Vologzhin, the company's investors won a 20 percent dividend in 1988. The company is running smoothly, without taking any money from the state for capital investments. And, he said, there is no risk, "like there is on Wall Street." If Konveyer loses money or even goes bank-

rupt, the central financial ministries will guarantee the share price.

"I've bought 1,600 rubles in shares so far," said Stepan Khimich, a fitter at the plant. "If I kept my money in a savings account, I'd be getting what, 3 percent? This is better, and it's a sure thing. Twenty percent of the workers have bought shares, and the number is growing."

The share system at Konveyer is an expression of a limit as well as an innovation. The minister of finance, Boris Gostev, caused a mild stir late last year when he suggested that the Soviet Union might one day develop a stock market, allowing anyone to buy shares in companies.

But most economists here, including Mr. Abalkin, believe that a Moscow Wall Street is inconceivable, or at least far off.

Mr. Vologzhin said that the notion of "outsiders" buying shares in an enterprise where they do not work "amounts to exploitation and the ownership of someone else's labor" — a notion that is too un-Marxist even for the reformers.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Thatcher Speaks Out on EC Fraud: She Plans to Raise Matter at Summit

**LONDON (Reuters)** — Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher expressed deep concern Tuesday at the level of fraud in the European Community and said she would raise the subject at the next EC summit meeting in Madrid in June.

Answering a question in Parliament about reports of widespread abuses, Mrs. Thatcher said: "The extent of fraud in the use of European Community funds is a matter of very great concern." She added: "The remedies are in national hands, but we believe the rules applied by the community must be tightened up." Government sources estimated EC fraud at about \$6 billion (\$10.5 billion) a year.

The sources described as "substantively correct" a report in the Times newspaper that said Mrs. Thatcher was concerned that proceeds from fraud might be going to the Mafia in Italy and the Irish Republican Army fighting British rule in Northern Ireland. Most frauds involve export and agricultural-subsidy frauds.

Asked to say whether the prime minister's comments did not amount to an attack on the European Community, "There's no finger pointing involved," the spokesman said. "It's not clear who's behind the fraud."

### UN Head Asks Chemical-Arms Ban

**GENEVA (AP)** — The Geneva Conference on Disarmament opened its 1989 session with a message from the UN secretary-general, Javier Pérez de Cuellar, who reiterated his appeal to step up work on a global ban of chemical weapons.

He recalled that the special Paris conference on chemical weapons last month, attended by 149 nations, reflected the world community's consensus to conclude a ban "at the earliest date."

"I very much hope that this commitment, undertaken at such a high political level, will accelerate the pace of your negotiations," the message from Mr. Pérez de Cuellar read.

### Ethnic Riots Killed 87, Soviets Assert

**MOSCOW (WP)** — Continuing ethnic clashes in Armenia and Azerbaijan have killed 87 people and wounded 1,500, Soviet officials revealed Tuesday.

Major General Nikolai Vasko of the Ministry of Internal Affairs said that the new casualty figures on the clashes in the Transcaucasus were the most accurate available. But many people in Moscow, including the human rights activist Andrei D. Sakharov and Sergei I. Grigoryants, editor of the magazine *Glasnost*, believe that far more have died in the intermittent rioting that broke out a year ago.

General Vasko said that, apart from the civilian casualty figures, four soldiers were killed and 117 wounded "while defending different officers and citizens." He also said that 32 militiamen had been wounded. Previous official totals had put the death toll at about 78.

### Moscow Accuses Tokyo Over Kurils

**MOSCOW (APF)** — Moscow denounced Tuesday the Japanese stand in negotiations over the Kuril islands.

The Soviet deputy foreign minister, Igor Rogachev, said that a critical editorial Tuesday in the Communist Party daily *Pravda*, accusing Japan of issuing an "ultimatum" on its long-standing territorial dispute with Moscow over the islands, "fully reflects the official position."

Tokyo claims the four islands in the Kurils chain, known as the Northern Territories in Japan, which have been occupied by the Soviet Union since World War II. *Pravda* stressed that the islands were Soviet. It said that while Foreign Minister Edvard A. Shevardnadze's visit to Tokyo in December had been "fruitful," the Japanese side had at a meeting in Paris last month "reduced to zero the positive impulse created in Tokyo by giving its territorial aspirations the nature of an ultimatum."

### U.K. to Ban Trade in Human Organs

**LONDON (AP)** — The government plans to ban the sale of human organs, Health Minister Roger Freeman said Tuesday after disclosures that kidneys were bought for transplant operations at a London hospital.

"It is abhorrent and absolutely disgusting to trade in human organs," Mr. Freeman said. "We are considering very urgently the need for legislation. We are working on a draft bill." He added, "We take this very seriously and we want to move quickly."

The General Medical Council, a disciplinary body of doctors, was asked Monday to investigate allegations that Turks were paid to donate their kidneys for transplant operations at the private Humana Wellington Hospital in North London. The hospital said its policy was to use organs only from family members and said it had no evidence to support the allegations.

### Kohl Aide Set for Arms Talks in U.S.

**BONN (Reuters)** — A senior aide to Chancellor Helmut Kohl will start three days of talks with U.S. officials Wednesday in Washington on export controls on arms-related equipment.

Wolfgang Schäuble will meet with Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d and other administration officials, according to a government statement issued Tuesday.

The discussions are to focus on joint measures to prevent the export of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons technology. Mr. Schäuble also will outline tighter export controls agreed upon by Mr. Kohl's cabinet last month. U.S. officials have recently criticized Bonn's tardiness in halting weapons-related exports to unstable regions.

## TRAVEL UPDATE

### El Al Is Suspending Flights to Vienna

**TEL AVIV (Reuters)** — Israel's national airline, El Al, said Tuesday it was suspending flights to Vienna to project new check-in procedures it called unsafe.

Under the procedures, El Al passengers would no longer check their baggage separately from other passengers but at the multiple check-in counters, an airport spokesman said. From there, El Al baggage would be taken to a special security area, where it could be rechecked by El Al security officers and identified by Israeli-bound passengers.

El Al suggested that the system could enable someone to place a bomb among luggage entering the passenger terminal. The airline decided, "to elaborate for security reasons."

Videoassessments of classic films will soon be available to first-class passengers on some British Airways flights. A spokesman also said that the airline plans to let first-class customers choose meal times. (APF)

Japan has banned air cargo from domestic flights in and out of Tokyo's two airports for five days around the funeral Feb. 24 of Hirohito to prevent sabotage. Transport Ministry officials said Tuesday. They said only emergency items such as medicine would be exempt. They said security officials would also double check passengers and baggage on all flights during a five-day period to begin Feb. 22. (Reuters)

## WEATHER

EUROPE				ASIA			
	HIGH	LOW	PRECIP.		HIGH	LOW	PRECIP.
Amsterdam	12	5	0	Beijing	3	-2	0
Berlin	11	4	0	Hong Kong	27	23	0
Bombay	32	24	0	Manila	30	24	0
Buenos Aires	64	48	0	New Delhi	26	18	0
Calcutta	32	24	0	Seoul	34	26	0
Cairo	64	48	0	Shanghai	46	32	0
Canton	32	24	0	Taipei	34	26	0
Cebu	32	24	0	Tokyo	50	34	0
Colon	82	66	0				
Hankow	32	24	0				
Hong Kong	32	24	0				
Kobe	32	24	0				
London	11	4	0				
Lyons	11	4	0				
Manila	30	24	0				
Medan	32	24	0				
Osaka	32	24	0				
Paris	11	4	0				
Shanghai	46	32	0				
Singapore	32	24	0				
Taipei	34	26	0				
Tokyo	50	34	0				
Yokohama	32	24	0				

AFRICA				LATIN AMERICA			
	HIGH	LOW	PRECIP.		HIGH	LOW	PRECIP.
Accra	82	66	0	Buenos Aires	64	48	0
Algiers	64	48	0	Caracas	82	66	0
Cairo	64	48	0	Colon	82	66	0
Cape Town	64	48	0	Guatemala	82	66	0
Conakry	82	66	0	Harbin	32	24	0
Dakar	82	66	0	Hiroshima	32	24	0
Delhi	32	24	0	Los Angeles	64	48	0
Harbin	32	24	0	Managua	82	66	0
Hiroshima	32	24	0	Medan	32	24	0
Los Angeles	64	48	0	Montevideo	82	66	0
Managua	82	66	0	Osaka	32	24	0
Medan	32	24	0	Seoul	34	26	0
Montevideo	82	66	0	Shanghai	46	32	0
Osaka	32	24	0	Taipei	34	26	0
Seoul	34	26	0	Tokyo	50	34	0
Shanghai	46	32	0	Yokohama	32	24	0
Taipei	34	26	0				
Tokyo	50	34	0				
Yokohama	32	24	0				

MIDDLE EAST				OCEANIA			
	HIGH	LOW	PRECIP.		HIGH	LOW	PRECIP.
Amman	64	48	0	Adelaide	64	48	0
Baghdad	64	48	0	Brisbane	64	48	0
Bombay	32	24	0	Canberra	64	48	0
Canton	32	24	0	Darwin	64	48	0
Cebu	32	24	0	Honolulu	64	48	0
Colon	82	66	0	Los Angeles	64	48	0
Hankow	32	24	0	Manila	30	24	0
Hong Kong	32	24	0	Medan	32	24	0
Kobe	32	24	0	Montevideo	82	66	0
London	11	4	0	Osaka	32	24	0
Lyons	11	4	0	Seoul	34	26	0
Manila	30	24	0	Shanghai	46	32	0
Medan	32	24	0	Taipei	34	26	0
Montevideo	82	66	0	Tokyo	50	34	0
Osaka	32	24	0	Yokohama	32	24	0
Seoul	34	26	0				
Shanghai	46	32	0				
Taipei	34	26	0				
Tokyo	50	34	0				
Yokohama	32	24	0				

## Candidacy of Rodriguez In Paraguay Is Backed By Party Front-Runner

The Associated Press

**ASUNCION, Paraguay** — Foreign Minister Luis María Argana said Tuesday that he would urge the ruling Colorado Party to endorse General Andrés Rodríguez, the leader of last week's coup, for president in the national elections set for May 1.

Mr. Argana, who had been considered a front-runner for the office, said at a news conference that he backed his "friend" General Rodríguez, who on Friday deposed President Alfredo Stroessner.

There was no immediate response from General Rodríguez. Asked Monday if he might be a candidate, General Rodríguez said: "It is every Paraguayan's duty to serve his country. Being president is a great honor. If I am called to serve, I will."

Colorado Party officials plan to hold a convention to select candidates for president, the 73-member Chamber of Deputies and the 36-member Senate.

Opposition leaders, many of whom were exiled during General Stroessner's presidency and whose parties were banned, have asked that the election be delayed to give them time to prepare. Mr. Argana ruled out that option.

"The period of time is imposed by the national constitution and is the maximum," he said. "The opposition itself has no interest in extending the deadline because by extending the deadline we also extend the arrival of democracy."

General Rodríguez issued a decree Monday dissolving Congress.

He said the new government would serve until August 1993, the term of office for elections that were held in February 1988. Only the Communist Party would be banned from fielding candidates, General Rodríguez said.

Domingo Laino, a former political exile and leader of what is thought to be the biggest opposition group, the Authentic Radical Liberal Party, said he could not be

a candidate because he was not registered to vote.

Other members of the party were not registered either, he said, because General Stroessner had outlawed the organization.

General Stroessner, now in exile in Brazil, ruled Paraguay for nearly 35 years after seizing power in a 1954 coup.

Mr. Laino suggested that the May 1 election date "could be interpreted as a trap" set by the Colorado Party, which after 41 years in power is rich and well-organized.

In setting the election date, General Rodríguez cited a constitutional clause stating that in the event of a president's resignation, incapacitating illness or death, the provisional president must call for elections within three months.

The government's position is that General Stroessner resigned.

The Colorado Party, with 1.4 million members, counts on an extensive political machine that extends to the smallest towns.

### News Media Reopened

The new government said earlier Tuesday that it had authorized the reopening of a newspaper and a radio station that were closed after they had criticized General Stroessner, Reuters reported from Asunción.

Conrado Pappalardo, secretary-general of the presidency, said that the government would allow the newspaper ABC Color and Radio Nanduti to reopen.

### Stroessner Unsure of Stay

General Stroessner said Tuesday that he had not decided whether to stay in Brazil, Reuters reported from Iumbiara, Brazil.

About 60 protesters demonstrated earlier outside his guest house.

Asked if he would return to Paraguay, General Stroessner said: "Nothing can be definite. It does not depend on my wishes."



The deposed president of Paraguay, General Alfredo Stroessner, outside the house in Iumbiara, central Brazil, where he has been staying since he was sent into exile Sunday after Friday's coup.

## Salvador Rebels Add to Peace Offer

By Douglas Farah  
Washington Post Service

**SAN SALVADOR** — El Salvador's leftist rebels, saying they were being as flexible as possible, added a 60-day election cease-fire to their earlier peace proposal on Tuesday while the military, in its first official statement, appeared to reject the plan.

The developments occurred as political parties ranging from the rightist Nationalist Republican Alliance to the leftist Democratic Convergence began a series of meetings, the first of this type, to analyze the plan of the rebel Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. They are seeking a consensus counterproposal.

Since it was presented two weeks ago, the proposal has become the center of the national political debate, dominating the presidential

campaign and fanning fragile hopes that a negotiated end to the nine-year-old civil war, which has claimed more than 60,000 lives, could be possible.

The Liberation Front, in a communiqué to local radio stations, offered a 60-day cease-fire, 30 days either side of the elections, as a further demonstration of their "goodwill."

They reiterated, however, that the elections must be postponed from March 19 to Sept. 15, as they had originally proposed. The original proposal called for a five-day truce around the elections.

Changing the date of the election poses a constitutional problem and has become the main sticking point in the proposal, which includes a rebel offer to participate in elections for the first time and to respect the results.

The Minister of Defense, General Eugenio Vides Casanova, said the military would support "any serious and honest decision" of the politicians, but he then appeared to reject the plan.

"Honestly, we do not think it is a serious proposal, and it contains a series of concepts you know are not true," the minister said.

Earlier, the government of President José Napoleón Duarte said it had identified the person it suspected as the gunman in the 1980 slaying of Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero.

In a program broadcast on all television and radio stations Sunday night, the government accused Hector Antonio Regalado, a dentist known as an expert marksman and close confidant of the rightist leader Roberto d'Aubuisson, of killing the archbishop.

## Japan Party Chief Quits in Link to Stock Scandal

By Margaret Shapiro  
Washington Post Service

**TOKYO** — The chairman of a leading opposition party on Tuesday announced his resignation because of his involvement in a spreading stock scandal that is widely seen here as undermining the stability of Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita's government.

Saburo Tsukamoto, head of the rightist Democratic Socialist Party, and one of Japan's four opposition parties, said rank-and-file members were concerned that he would hurt the party in national elections slated for this summer.

His resignation — effective Feb. 22, when the party holds its annual convention — is likely to increase the pressure on Mr. Takeshita to resign, since his involvement in the stock scandal and that of Mr. Tsukamoto are similar.

"Although my party colleagues acknowledge my innocence," Mr. Tsukamoto said, "the attitude of the people is that this makes it difficult to fight the coming national election. That attitude cannot be taken lightly."

A top aide to Mr. Tsukamoto received 5,000 unlisted shares in Recruit Cosmos Co., a politically

ambitious real estate company that offered the unlisted stock to selected politicians, government officials and others at a low price before the company's stock was offered on the stock exchange. When the stock went public in November 1986, many advance purchasers made handsome profits.

Tokyo prosecutors are investigating Recruit's stock transactions to see whether the shares were offered in exchange for specific government favors.

So far no allegations of illegality have been made, including in Mr. Tsukamoto's case. But the seven-

month affair has aroused indignation, with newspapers editorializing almost daily on the dirty state of Japanese "money-politics" and surveys showing growing public anger at the cozy ties between politics and big business here.

Every party in Japan except the Communists has been tainted in some way by the scandal. But it has particularly hurt the governing Liberal Democratic Party, which has held power for more than 33 years, and Mr. Takeshita, whose popularity has plunged in recent months.

Three ministers in the Takeshita cabinet have been forced out because of their involvement in the scandal, prompting speculation that the prime minister's position has grown precarious. Mr. Tsukamoto's resignation is likely to fuel that speculation because of the similarity in their involvements in



## Allies Testing U.S. Curb

### End of Sanctions On Soviets Sought

By Don Oberdorfer

**WASHINGTON** — In a test of Bush administration export control policy toward the Soviet Union, West European governments and companies have begun challenging Afghan-related U.S. trade sanctions against Moscow, according to officials here.

Even as Secretary of State James Baker 3d was quoted as unwilling to lift the U.S. sanctions, the West Europeans, led by the British, are applying to sell high technology items to Moscow that were barred under sanctions imposed at U.S. initiative in early 1980, following the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

In a related development, former Representative Charles A. Vanik, co-sponsor of the 1974 Jackson-Vanik amendment to U.S. trade laws, said he has recommended that Moscow now be granted most-favored-nation trade benefits for at least 18 months because of its recently eased restrictions on Jewish and other emigration.

The Afghanistan-related U.S. trade sanctions under discussion involve a policy of "no exceptions" from a general ban on sales to the Soviet Union of high technology that could have military as well as civilian benefits.

The "no exceptions" policy was announced by the Carter administration after the December 1979 Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and continued by the Reagan administration without challenge by the European allies.

The British government put the Reagan administration on notice in October that it and other West European governments believed the "no exceptions" sanction should be lifted as the Soviets withdrew from Afghanistan.

The British position was essentially endorsed by the former secretary of state, George P. Shultz, in Washington interagency discussions but opposed by Frank C. Carlucci, who was then secretary of defense, on grounds that the sanctions should be retained for national security reasons.

Two sets of letters on the issue were exchanged by the two departments starting Oct. 25. A final letter from Mr. Shultz to Mr. Carlucci leaving the matter unresolved was sent Jan. 19, the day before the Reagan administration left office.

In recent weeks, according to diplomatic sources and U.S. officials, several nations led by the British have for the first time since the Afghan invasion made formal application for approval of high-tech sales previously barred under the "no exceptions" policy.

Such applications, which go to the 15-nation Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls, take at least 90 days for consideration. The United States can veto, but only at the risk of a rift with its European allies.

## House Speaker Heads List of Casualties in Federal Pay-Raise Debacle

By R.W. Apple Jr.

**WASHINGTON** — The list of casualties in the death of the federal pay-raise legislation on Capitol Hill is a lengthy one.

Responding to a public outcry, the House of Representatives abandoned its leadership and forced a vote Tuesday in which it killed the proposed 51-percent congressional pay increase.

The raise, recommended by an independent commission and endorsed by former President Ronald Reagan and President George Bush, would have automatically taken effect Wednesday had both the House and Senate not rejected it. The Senate did so last week, increasing the pressure on the House speaker, Jim Wright of Texas, to follow suit.

Mr. Wright has spent the last month under siege by the public, the press, and his own colleagues as a carefully plotted bipartisan strategy to avoid a vote on the pay increase crumbled around him.

In the process, grievous wounds were

inflicted, politically speaking, on the reputation of Congress as a whole, on the standing of the House of Representatives vis-à-vis the Senate, on the well-being of the Democratic Party and, at least for the moment, on the leadership of Mr. Wright.

In a broader sense, injury may also have been caused to the common weal. If relatively few people thought a 50-

### NEWS ANALYSIS

percent raise was justified, many experts felt some kind of increase was necessary to attract capable people to the public service, and now it seems sure that there will be no immediate increase at all.

At a moment when the Democratic Party wants to show that it deserves, by virtue of its control of both houses of Congress, an equal part with President Bush in leading the country, the now abandoned attempt to push through the increase by parliamentarylegerdemain can do it no good.

At a moment when the party is

searching desperately for new leaders—having apparently decided to shunt the defeated presidential candidate, Massachusetts Governor Michael S. Dukakis, into a corner—the evident tactical miscalculations of Mr. Wright, the party's highest-ranking member under the constitution, can help it even less.

Mr. Wright was in trouble even before he cried "uncle" on the floor of the House and agreed to Tuesday's straight yes-or-no vote on the raise. He was in trouble because of lingering questions, however nebulous or unfair, about his ethical standards; because of his tendency to play the loner despite his role as a leader; and to spring unwelcome surprises on his colleagues; and because of what many see as his shortcomings as a public spokesman for his party.

Thomas P. O'Neill, the former Democratic representative from Massachusetts who preceded him as speaker, said of Mr. Wright in 1986: "He's very thin-skinned, and he's very quick to react, and he's a red head. He's apt to flare."

Other Democrats, speaking privately, complain that he has a tendency to whine and to preach, which political pros dislike. Partly because of problems of personality, partly because he has held office for only two years, the speaker lacks a reservoir of goodwill.

Representative Vin Weber, the Minnesota Republican, said that a stronger speaker might have been able to put the raise across. Maybe, but some Democrats on Capitol Hill doubt it. Representative Barbara B. Kennelly of Connecticut said, for example, that "50 percent and 135 thousand"—the proposed new annual pay level for members of Congress—"was too much of a load for Jim Wright or for anyone else to carry."

Mr. Wright is unlikely, in the view of party leaders, to lose his post. But he has certainly been at least temporarily weakened, and he may be overshadowed now by George Mitchell of Maine, the new majority leader in the Senate.

Ted Van Dyk, a longtime Democratic strategist, offered this appraisal, with which many other prominent party members agreed: "Jim has the constitu-

tional rank, but as a practical matter, for the time being at least, it looks as if George will be the leading Democratic spokesman in the Congress."

There are many lessons to be drawn from the debacle, starting with a basic one: It is painfully difficult, in an age of mass communication, to exercise real political leadership in any legislative body.

Through newsletters and radio broadcasts and satellite television, each legislator is in direct touch with his constituents and they are in direct touch with him. So leading 259 House Democrats is like coordinating 259 little political parties; seniority counts for little and the party line counts for nothing at all.

Mr. Wright understood from the start that, with constituents breathing down their throats, members would not be keen to take the heat for voting themselves a raise.

So he planned to insulate them from the fire of constituent anger by agreeing that there would be no roll call; he would prevent one, they would not have

to go on the record and the public could blame him.

In taking that stand, he showed considerable bravery—more, as his defenders noted Monday, than the senators who voted against the increase after making self-righteous speeches, in the belief that the House would never vote and the raise would go through.

But leadership involves not only courage but also a talent for appraising and for acting upon what is politically realistic.

Mr. Wright apparently did not understand the intensity of public opposition, fanned by radio talk shows and newspaper editorials into what many members described as the strongest anti-Washington backlash in decades.

And when he did come to understand it, he decided to poll the House Democrats as to their wishes.

That was widely interpreted by his followers as an attempt by their leader to share some of the heat, and it was seen by many as a cop-out.



Mrs. Dukakis is being treated in Rhode Island for alcohol abuse.

## Mrs. Dukakis and Alcohol: What Experts Think

By Jane E. Brody

**NEW YORK** — Experts on alcoholism agree that previous dependence on amphetamines increases the risk of becoming dependent on another addictive drug.

Their comments followed the announcement that Kitty Dukakis, the wife of Governor Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts, the former Democratic presidential candidate, was being treated for alcohol abuse at a clinic in Newport, Rhode Island.

Mr. Dukakis said in a statement that his wife had never had a problem with alcohol until shortly after the election Nov. 8, when he was defeated by George Bush.

"Unfortunately, a combination of physical exhaustion, the stress of the campaign effort and the post-election letdown all combined to create a situation in which, on a

limited number of occasions while at home, she has used alcohol in excessive quantities," the statement said.

Few experts, though, think it likely that Mrs. Dukakis could have developed an addiction to alcohol in the few months since the presidential campaign.

Although there is no clear-cut evidence for the existence of an addictive personality, dependencies on one mood-altering drug after another are well-known among the specialists who treat alcoholism.

Mrs. Dukakis was treated in 1982 at the Hazelden Foundation for her addiction to amphetamines.

"We don't know the underlying biochemical reasons for this observation," said Dr. Enoch Gordis, director of the National Institute for Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism. "We don't know if the mechanism for addiction is identical across the board."

What may be a common factor, however, is an underlying mood disorder, like depression or anxiety, that is not resolved and that prompts a person to abuse first one drug and then another.

In general, Dr. Gordis said, alcoholism does not develop in the course of three months, even in women, who tend to become dependent on alcohol more rapidly than men.

Dr. Roger E. Meyer, scientific director of the Alcohol Research Center at the University of Connecticut in Farmington, said: "It usually takes five to 10 years of heavy drinking for a woman to become an alcoholic. For most men, the disease develops over a period of more than 10 years."

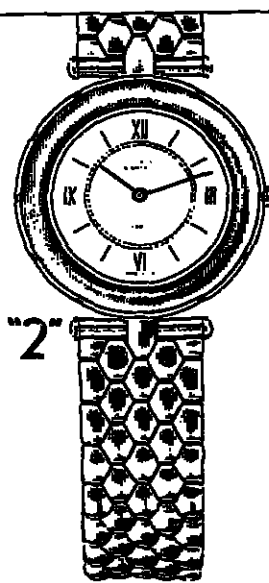
Dr. Meyer said, however, that if a person already had a problem with a tranquilizer like Librium or Valium, alcoholism could develop more rapidly.

Dr. Donald Goodwin, the chair-

man of the department of psychiatry at Kansas University School of Medicine, says that, given Mrs. Dukakis' earlier history of amphetamine abuse, she could have devel-

oped a drinking problem in the months since the campaign.

"I don't think she could have concealed a drinking problem during the campaign," he said.



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## AMERICAN TOPICS

### Again, Jobs Contend With Environment

Timber companies in the Pacific Northwest have virtually depleted the virgin or old growth forests they own or lease. Second-growth trees planted in the 1950s, replacing old-growth groves harvested to supply the postwar suburbanization boom, will not be big enough to cut down for another 30 years or so. So the companies are pressing to cut more timber in government-owned national forests.

This puts the companies in direct conflict with environmentalists. In the middle is the U.S. Forest Service, which is trying to draw up long-range management plans for national forests. The

Los Angeles Times says these plans "are suffocating beneath an avalanche of administrative appeals by loggers and conservationists. When completed, the plans face years of lawsuits."

Old-growth forests "are really living cathedrals," says Patricia Schifferle of the Wilderness Society, a conservation group. Environmentalists consider second-growth inferior. It lacks the variety in plant species, is subject to pest problems and cannot support the full range of forest animals.

Harry Earnest, a veteran millwright, will be out of work when Louisiana-Pacific mothballs its sawmill near Red Bluff, California this spring. Mr. Earnest, 59, has an invalid wife and a daughter in college.

"The thing about a tree is that when you cut it down another one will grow in its place," Mr. Earnest said. "Jobs don't necessarily do that."

### Short Takes

Joshua Richards Hope, a Washington lawyer, has become the first woman appointed to the Harvard Corporation, Harvard's governing board, in the university's 352-year history. Mrs. Hope, 48, is a nominee for a federal judgeship. She is the daughter-in-law of Bob Hope, the entertainer. She met her husband, Anthony J. Hope, while both were law students at Harvard. He is now an insurance executive. They have a son who is a Harvard sophomore.

Oregon and Utah have become the first states to ask doctors to specify on death certificates whether tobacco use contributed to death, a change that the American Medical Association advocates. Oregon officials, noting that tobacco use was cited in only 2 percent of the nearly 3,000 deaths attributed to lung cancer or chronic pulmonary disease, sent letters to all the doctors who had signed the death certificates.

asking whether smoking was a factor. Nearly 80 percent said it was. A spokesman for the Tobacco Institute said the reform was meaningless because without an autopsy, "a death certificate is an estimate, a guess."

"Some people hate coming to New York on business," said the full-page ad in The New York Times. It's not the traffic, the crime or the people, the ad went on, "it's because of the New York Mets." The ad, placed by the

baseball team itself, went on to say, "You see, we have a habit of sending teams home with their tails between their legs." So "order your tickets now." The Mets won 56 of their 80 home games last year in romping to a division title. The ad showed purported players in other National League uniforms leaning dejectedly against water coolers, crying into towels and in various other attitudes of defeat.

Arthur Higbee

## U.S. Vulnerability To Terror Raids Cited at Hearing

The Associated Press

**WASHINGTON** — Terrorists could cause catastrophic economic damage in the United States if they decided to target energy and telecommunications networks, a Senate panel was told Tuesday.

Charles C. Lane, a staff investigator for the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee, said that terrorists in the past have selected high-profile targets for their symbolic value and with intent to kill, such as attacks on airlines, and military and diplomatic facilities.

But he said if terrorists selected targets for their true value, "either to cripple a nation's economy or as an act of defiance or revenge," U.S. energy and telecommunications networks "present tempting targets."

"The networks are exposed," he said, "they are vulnerable, chances of a successful attack are highly probable, and significant economic damage might be inflicted as a result."

Mr. Lane said it was essential that an effort be made "to identify and initiate measures to harden networks to withstand assaults and to make plans to recover services lost as a result of successful attack."

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## Roman Doubt on Perestroika?

### Italy's Moscow Envoy Resigns Amid Policy Questions

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## Diplomats Puzzled By Iranian Shift on Release of Terrorist

By Joseph Fitchett  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — French officials said Tuesday that they were uncertain about Iranian motives in publicizing a demand — long pressed in secret — that France honor an alleged pledge to release a terrorist whose freedom was promised by a previous government in a deal that liberated three French hostages.

"If they really wanted a deal, why embarrass France by going public?" several diplomats asked.

Iran said Monday that it obtained the release last May of three French hostages in Lebanon after a pledge from Jacques Chirac, then prime minister, to free Amis Naccache, a Lebanese serving a life sentence after attempting to assassinate Shapur Bakhtiar in 1980 in a Paris suburb.

Some officials theorized that Iran might be employing a bargaining tactic aimed at obtaining economic concessions from France, or perhaps seeking to placate extremists in Tehran.

Others speculated that Iran might be betting that the French government would pardon Mr. Naccache, using as an explanation the argument that it was fulfilling a previous pledge.

Although French governments in principle oppose negotiating with terrorists, political heat has been drained from the issue since the release of the last French hostages. Officials acknowledge that the Naccache issue could hurt the prospects of French firms seeking contracts to aid Iran's postwar reconstruction.

An aide to President François Mitterrand, while refusing to speculate about the Iranian move, pointedly declined to rule out the possibility of an eventual pardon in the Naccache case.

"The president has not yet been fully informed about what the Iranians said privately in Tehran," a spokesman said.

French officials added that they were continuing efforts to settle financial disputes with Iran involving Iran's investment in Eurodif, a French-led nuclear program, and lost French assets in Iran.

Mr. Mitterrand was expected to be briefed Wednesday by Roland Dumas, the French foreign minister, about his trip to Iran. Mr. Dumas's visit was designed to thaw commercial relations between the two countries. Relations became estranged over French support for Iraq in the Gulf War.

Although the visit was criticized in the Iranian media and ended without major French commitments, French and Iranian officials maintained harmony in public.

But prospects for a French role in Iran suddenly clouded when the Iranian foreign minister, Ali Akbar Velayati, said Monday that Tehran expected France to honor "a gentleman's agreement."

Mr. Velayati gave a detailed account of alleged telephone conversations in which Mr. Chirac, who was then prime minister, told Iranian leaders that Mr. Naccache would be released if Iran helped free French hostages.

After Mr. Velayati's comments, Mr. Dumas, who had denied discussing the Naccache case, acknowledged that he had sought the Iranian view of events surrounding the hostage negotiations.

At the time, the Chirac government denied — publicly, and privately to Western diplomats — that it had struck this bargain even though the hostages' release appeared to be timed to help Mr. Chirac in his presidential campaign against Mr. Mitterrand.

Aides said Tuesday that Mr. Chirac would not react to the fresh Iranian allegations.

Many U.S. and other Western officials had expected Mr. Naccache to receive a presidential pardon last summer, or at least before Mr. Dumas left for Iran.

But the French handling of the hostage issue and the Naccache case have been hampered by the political rivalry and personal mistrust between Mr. Mitterrand and Mr. Chirac. They formally shared power from 1987 until last May, but their relations turned hostile during the election campaign.



HIGH AND DRY WHERE? — Barges lie stuck on a canal bed as drought plagues Venice.

## Iranian in Britain Amid Speculation on Hostages

By Jonathan C. Randall  
Washington Post Service

LONDON — Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati of Iran arrived here unexpectedly Tuesday and conferred with his British counterpart, Sir Geoffrey Howe. Some observers saw the visit as an indication of thawing relations that might improve prospects of freeing Western hostages held in Lebanon by pro-Iranian groups.

It was the first visit to London by an Iranian foreign minister since the Islamic revolution in Tehran 10 years ago.

"All of us want to work for the release of the hostages, no matter what their nationality," Mr. Velayati said, reiterating the Iranian position. Most are British or American, detained by pro-Iranian groups in Lebanon. There also are three Iranians who disappeared in Lebanon held by Christian forces in 1982.

Mr. Velayati's sudden appearance came to light when a London-based dispatch from IRNA, the official Iranian news agency, announced that Mr. Velayati "was forced by bad weather to break his journey" from Tehran to Madrid.

In Madrid, he had been scheduled to confer with Spanish officials before attending UN discussions in New York on the cease-fire in the Gulf War. The IRNA dispatch did not say where the "bad weather" occurred, but meteorologists reported clear weather in both the British and Spanish capitals.

Britain reopened its embassy in Tehran in December, after an eight-year break. But relations cooled because of British insistence that progress depended on the release of Roger Cooper, a British subject detained in Iran, and the three Britons held in Lebanon by the pro-Iranian Hezbollah.

They are Terry Waite, the Church of England emissary who was seized three years ago; John McCarthy, a journalist; and Brian Keenan, a teacher.

Mr. Velayati's visit also renewed speculation that Kuwait might now be willing to drop its refusal to release any of the 16 men convicted of attacks against Kuwaiti oil installations and the U.S. and French embassies in December 1984.

At a Moscow press conference Tuesday, the Foreign Ministry spokesman, Gennadi I. Gerasimov, said the mujahidin were concentrating their forces along strategic highways. He said that 30,000 insurgents were preparing to strike at Kabul leading out of both Kabul and Herat.

In public, Soviet officials express confidence in the ability of Major General Najib and his People's Democratic Party to resist an onslaught. In private, however, many Soviet commanders returning from Afghanistan question both the extent of popular support for the Kabul regime and the morale of the regular Afghan Army.

Mr. Gerasimov said the psychological crisis in Kabul had improved sharply since General Najib addressed a public rally on Sunday.

Food shortages are acute. Earlier, *Barbara Crassette* of the *New York Times* reported from Islamabad:

Shortages of food and other essential commodities are at emergency levels in Afghanistan, the United Nations coordinator for Afghanistan said, Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan, said in Islamabad Tuesday.

He said that supplies had to be moved to Kabul urgently because it was unclear whether aid could continue after all Soviet forces left Afghanistan. Soviet troops were still guarding Kabul's airport.

## Arens Asserts PLO Killed 5 Arabs

The Associated Press

JERUSALEM — Foreign Minister Moshe Arens said Tuesday that the Palestine Liberation Organization had killed five Palestinian Arabs in recent weeks despite its pledge to abandon terrorism.

Mr. Arens, who is pressing the United States to halt its low-level dialogue with the PLO, told Israeli armed forces radio that Palestinians who sought a dialogue with Israel had been assassination targets.

"In the last month, five Palestinians have been killed by this terrorist," he said. "It seems to me that whoever wants to recognize facts should have no illusions about the organization."

Mr. Arens spoke after Israel formally asked the United States to end its contacts with the PLO, asserting that its leader, Yasser Arafat, violated promises to renounce terrorism.

[The Palestine observer mission at the United Nations urged Tuesday that the Security Council meet to consider the situation in the West Bank. Reuters reported from New York.]

[A spokesman said he expected the Arab group of states to issue a formal request after a caucus Wednesday.]

Israeli officials cited what they said was an attempted infiltration of Israel by Palestinian guerrillas and the killings of Palestinians who cooperated with Israel as evidence

of PLO involvement in terrorism. Israeli troops shot and killed five Palestinian guerrillas Saturday in Israel's self-proclaimed security zone in southern Lebanon.

The foreign ministry spokesman, Alon Liel, said Israel had given "a United States evidence that the guerrillas planned to infiltrate Israel and take hostages."

He also said Palestinians had killed 60 other Palestinians for being suspected collaborators since the Palestinian uprising began in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip in December 1987.

The State Department spokesman, Charles E. Redman, said the United States was "looking into" the incident in Lebanon.

## CUBA: A New Ambivalence

(Continued from Page 1)

said he heard a lot of complaints about the system.

"Young people are better educated than they were 10 or 15 years ago," he said. "They see the mistakes." But, he added, "you find an ambivalence — they're not happy, but they're not trying to change things. They know they wouldn't get anywhere."

Still, there have been a few recent signs that some Cubans are testing the limits. As the police were making an arrest in a Havana neighborhood recently, onlookers yelled: "Hey, you're not respecting human rights!"

Chicken and eggs have been in short supply for some time, and steaks have become a rarity. So Cubans have been telling a story about the chicken who was chased down the street by a hungry mob. Suddenly the chicken saw a manhole and dove in. Moments later he heard the cries of another mob chasing an egg. "Over here!" the chicken shouted, and the egg hopped into the refuge.

Peering out of the manhole, the chicken and the egg spotted a beef-steak strolling along the crowded street. "Quick, in here, before they grab you!" cried the chicken. "Oh, don't worry," the steak replied without breaking stride. "Nobody recognizes me."

Mr. Castro's latest hope for breathing life into Cuba's stagnant economy is tourism. All over Havana, new signs have been popping up, giving directions and marking historic sites in Spanish and English. An airport is being built to deliver foreigners directly to Varadero, Cuba's best beach, and hotels are going up all over the island.

Mr. Castro keeps saying he wants nothing to do with capitalism. But he has been making exceptions in tourism. To bring some

hotels and restaurants up to international standards, his government has gone into a profit-sharing arrangement with Spanish entrepreneurs. Moreover, he has told tourists officials to forget about promises of job security and to hire and fire strictly on the basis of performance.

Equality for other Cubans is going by the boards, too. Mr. Castro said recently that the idea of the new hotels is to earn dollars and that Cubans can forget about staying in them, except in the off-season.

Already, one resort on a tiny island in Cuban waters has been placed entirely off-limits to Cubans, and foreign diplomats predict more foreigners-only pleasure spots. A European diplomat said he could even imagine Mr. Castro reintroducing gambling in enclaves where foreigners could play without contaminating the locals.

Before the United States broke diplomatic relations and imposed a trade embargo on Cuba in the early 1960s, Americans were Cuba's main tourists. While some congressmen favor free exchanges between Cuba and the United States, President George Bush says he sees no reason to make life easier for Mr. Castro — who nonetheless seems to be gambling that the U.S. market is going to open up for Cuba again.

Cuban tourist officials, who counted 175,000 visitors last year from hard-currency countries, have set a target of 2 million tourists for the year 2000, which would be more than either the Bahamas or Puerto Rico, the region's two tourism giants, received in 1988.

When a diplomat asked where so many tourists might come from, a government official replied: "Let us be clear — from the United States."

## RIGHTS: Israel Abuse Cited

(Continued from Page 1)

Israeli authorities. Over 20,000 Palestinians were wounded or injured by the IDF.

In addition, it says, Israeli "soldiers frequently used gunfire in situations that did not present mortal danger to troops, causing many avoidable deaths and injuries."

"Several deaths were attributed to plastic bullets," it said. "Other fatalities included at least 13 reported deaths by beating and at least 4 deaths from tear gas used by the IDF in enclosed areas."

In five cases last year, "unarmed Palestinians in detention died under questionable circumstances or were clearly killed by the detaining officials," the report added.

■ Treatment Denied

Israel defended its treatment of Palestinians on Tuesday. The Associated Press reported from Jerusalem.

The deputy foreign minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, said on Israeli television that Israeli soldiers "maintain as best they can, apart from a few exceptions, the standards of a proper conduct that no country in the world could maintain."

In clashes in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, meanwhile, soldiers shot and wounded five Palestinians, Arab hospital officials said.

The army's chief prosecutor, Brigadier General Amos Shashoua, defended Israel's human rights record. "I think we have to a large extent succeeded to keep the balance, the delicate balance, between the necessity of security on the one hand, and between the rights of the individuals on the other hand," General Shashoua said.

## GULF: End of Iranian Crusade

(Continued from Page 1)

ed last summer that ending the war would lead to the collapse of the government, says now that even though the government has survived the implementation of Resolution 598, the decision has done serious damage to the credibility of the revolutionary leadership.

"Ending the war discredited the regime," the specialist said, "because the decision rejects the ideology underpinning the revolution: They were crusading in the name of Islam, and a crusade allows no compromise. Then one day, after a million are dead, Khomeini says, 'Sorry folks, let's go home.'"

"I would have concluded that even Khomeini's Teflon is not that thick," he added, "but I think I was wrong."

In the last years of the war, the loyalty test for Iranian officials who aspired to senior positions in the government was adherence to the dogmatic vision of "war, war until victory," according to Western officials.

Even those disciples most loyal to Ayatollah Khomeini, such as President Ali Khamenei, lament how the war robbed the best years of the revolution.

"If we had spent the war budget on the universities, roads and factories, obviously everything would have been different," he told a recent Friday prayer gathering at Tehran University.

Mr. Li added that it was unfortunate that study by Chinese scholars of Mao's later years had lagged behind study abroad.

There have been other recent articles suggesting that a quiet reappraisal of Mao is under way. One of the most startling, originally published last summer in *Science* and *Technology* Daily, and later in *Beijing Review*, suggested that Mao wanted to be cremated after his death.

Since Mao instead was embalmed and placed on display in a vast hall in the center of Beijing, some thought that the article was intended as a suggestion that it was finally time to cremate Mao's body and close the hall.

## MAO: A Tragedy

(Continued from Page 1)

its followers but often for their zeal. In the last decade, China has moved away from Mao's beliefs, and his pictures and statues have faded away. After a three-story statue of Mao was removed last year from Beijing University, only a handful of Mao statues remained in the capital.

Yet China's senior leader, Deng Xiaoping, was reported to have said in 1978: "We will never do to Mao what the Soviets did to Stalin," and the official verdict remains that Mao was 70 percent correct and 30 percent wrong. Reassessing Mao's role in China is far more complex than re-evaluating Stalin's position in Soviet history, because Mao dominated the party for so long that without him there is not much left to praise.

The article in *Guangming Daily* praised many of Mao's achievements, particularly in his early years, and said that he was without doubt the greatest Chinese figure of the 20th century. But it added:

"In studying Mao Zedong, the most complicated, difficult and important area is the examination of the activities and thought of his later years — especially the mistakes in his thought. There has been little study of this in the past."

Mao was a great man who embodied the collective will of the Chinese people, but in his later years he made big mistakes over a long period, and the result was great disaster for the people and his country. He created a historical tragedy."

Mr. Li added that it was unfortunate that study by Chinese scholars of Mao's later years had lagged behind study abroad.

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## TROOPS: Soviets Feel Let Down

(Continued from Page 1)

engine, leaving drivers with minimal protection, and with traction so poor that they could be effectively driven in winter only with chains.

"And our drivers should have been provided with disposable towels and plates, which would have helped us avoid many infectious diseases," a colonel said.

Izvestia, the government newspaper, described scenes along the retreat route that had to be bitter reading in a country that has made legends of its military triumphs.

A battalion commander whose troops crossed back into Soviet territory earlier in the day, Colonel Stanislav Resnikov, said his unit abandoned equipment as it pulled away from its last encampment.

But perhaps more painful to the retreating columns, the guerrillas whose efforts forced the withdrawal mocked the retreating Soviet Army.

"They stood beside the roadside with their beards and turbans, holding their grenade launchers," the colonel said. "They laughed and aimed their weapons at us, but we didn't touch them and they didn't touch us."

In many soldiers' comments, there is an underlying theme of resentment.

One officer said his retreating soldiers had prepared a breakfast for Afghan villagers but that nobody showed up. "The local bandits had warned them all not to be seen asking us Soviets for help."

## 2 Indian Units to Leave Sri Lanka

The Associated Press

COLOMBO — Two battalions of Indian troops, about 3,500 soldiers, are scheduled to withdraw from Sri Lanka over the next few days, leaving 40,000 in the country, the government announced Tuesday.

The move follows a request by President Ranasinghe Premadasa, who had pledged during his election campaign to seek the withdrawal of the 47,000 Indian troops on the island.

India sent troops to Sri Lanka in July 1987 to oversee the surrendering of arms by Tamil rebels fighting for an independent homeland. But the troops stayed on to combat the largest rebel militia, which reneged on an India-sponsored peace plan two months after it was signed.

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## ARTS / LEISURE

## A Global Village Elder

By Mike Zwerin  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS—Manu Dibango's corner of the 20th arrondissement is called, "Electric Africa." He is looking at a television screen with 16 simultaneous channels on it—two images of automobiles chasing each other, a couple kissing, Latin American women dancing to a Salsa song, an elderly woman fondling her cat, two black and white movies, two anchorpersons projecting, a clown and test patterns.

"You can see how the Occident is moving," he said. "It's a living painting. I would like to play music like that screen."

With his impressive size and composure, his shaved head, philosophical bent, deep voice and erudite French, Dibango is a respected African elder in the global village. "Why should I only focus on one image?" he continued. "For me the essential is that two plus two does not always equal four."

Born in Cameroon (his mother was Belgian), he came to Paris at the age of 15 (he is now 55), studied the saxophone, fell in love with Sonny Rollins and learned the blues. He was "an African living in Europe while my entire interior life was in the United States, where I had never been. But I am not an African musician. I am a musician of African origin. It is very different."

In 1972, his recording of his infamously catchy hit "Soul Makossa" sold 3 million copies and made him, along with Hugh Masekela, one of the first African instru-

mentals on international charts. Although he has not had another hit of equal proportion, "Electric Africa," a collaboration with Herbie Hancock, broke impressive new ground. Dibango writes film music and continues to lead a successful band; a biography of him by Danielle Rouard will be issued this month.

Since we last spoke five years ago, Manu Dibango has been named a *Chevalier des Arts et Lettres* by the French government and Paris is called the capital of African music, which has become to the '80s what reggae was to the '70s, the most interesting and influential popular music of the decade.

"The most important change in the past five years is that the quantity has improved," he said. "Now we need more quality. The quality is going in different directions. Commercially, there are now Africans on prime time television and in the Top 10, so it has become possible to make big money. Since in general nothing in Africa makes money, this aspect is important. However, although record companies are looking for people who can make another hit like 'Yé Yé' by Mory Kante, the approach is 'we'd like to make money with Africans but we don't want to spend money on them.'"

"In the meantime, African music seems to be seducing the imagination of the French people. Last year, I was on a train coming back from the Bourges festival. Johnny Clegg had been an enormous suc-

cess there. A French couple with their six or seven-year-old son was behind me. We didn't talk during the entire trip. But about an hour before arriving in Paris, the boy started to beat a rhythm on my chair and to sing—'Ashi-bo-naga'—from Clegg's song in Zulu. It's not my song and Johnny Clegg is white but he had been playing with blacks on stage and singing in an African language; something must have clicked in the back of the boy's head. He looked at me with complicity.

"Africa is a continent. We have to be more specific. Each country has its own personality, and although we can generalize out of necessity, they cannot be put in the same bag. When they first came here each one was doing his own thing. Reasonable enough. But the next step is to see how curious to learn they are and how much they try to communicate. Some may not be so good at communication, but have a message anyway. Communication may also be left to the listener. It's a palette, it keeps changing, like that screen."

"Let's speak of instrumentalists. The media focuses on the stars, but behind them is the backstage world that supports them. Young African instrumentalists play the music of our century, American music, very well. They are going to the conservatory. They have been influenced by Coltrane and Miles [Davis] and in addition, living in Paris, they have the good fortune of being exposed to a lot of African dance



Manu Dibango: "Two plus two does not always equal four."

music. I'm optimistic. The level of musicianship is improving enormously. Since we last spoke, African instrumentalists have become, as it were, a French export. Talking Heads and other rock groups come to Paris to record with African instrumentalists.

"The worlds of rock and African music are communicating in Paris. Five years ago, who would have predicted that Yossou N'Dour and Bruce Springsteen would share the same stage, as they did on the Amnesty International tour? Johnny Clegg's music is intelligent, melod-

ic, it swings and he's worked hard on it. It's a rare and promising conjunction when talent goes together with hard work. Will we ever see a more general conjuncture of quantity and quality? Many are called, remember, but few are chosen. We should know in another five years."

Manu Dibango: Paris (Petit Journal Montparnasse) Feb. 28, March 1, 2, followed by a three-month tour including France, West Germany, Belgium, Austria, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Italy, Israel and the United States.



Members of ZeroMoving in Karen Ramonette's "Others Journey."

## Dance, a German Accent

By Anna Kisselgoff  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK—The German strain of contemporary dance as it has manifested itself in the United States is usually overlooked if not unacknowledged. There is general agreement that modern dance has been dominated by Americans. But it is also true that between the World Wars, Germany was a major center in the growth of the free dance, as the creative form outside the ballet tradition was formerly called.

The influence of the German school's disciples who emigrated to the United States has yet to be systematically explored. Rudolf von Laban and Mary Wigman, followed by Kurt Jooss, Sigurd Leeder, Harald Kreutzberg and others, were key figures in early German modern dance.

Although this group was pluralistic, encompassing dancers and choreographers from the Viennese school and other nationalities, their basic allegiance was to the new German dance aesthetics and idioms, mainly as taught by Laban and Wigman. The body, often distorted, was viewed as an expressive instrument.

The Americans who preceded or overlapped with this Central European school, as it was also labeled, included dancers who performed mainly in Europe, such as Isadora Duncan and Loie Fuller. Even Ruth St. Denis and Ted Shawn performed in Germany and had German-trained guest teachers in their school. Duncan herself felt most at home in Berlin before World War I and founded her first school there.

How much cross-fertilization existed between Americans and German dancers in Europe up through 1920 is an interesting question. The answer has been implied in the concerts given in recent years by Annabelle Gamson and her new company. These include revivals of both Duncan and Wigman solos, and it is clear that the idioms and the themes are distinct in each case. Wigman's relationship to space is paramount; Duncan's motivating impulses are emotional and musical.

Hanya Holm, Wigman's major disciple in the United States, opened a school in New York City in the wake of Wigman's first American tour in 1930. It is customary to include Holm, who lives in New York City, as one of the "big four" pioneers of American modern dance (along with Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey and Charles Weidman).

The dancers who have studied with her in New York, or at the summer schools in Bennington, Vermont, in the 1930s, and at Colorado Springs, Colorado, from the 1940s through the early 1980s, are legion. Among the most obvious are choreographers like Alwin Nikolais (now himself considered a pioneer), Murray Louis, Glen Tetley, Lucinda Childs, Phyllis Lamant and Don Redlich.

As an American choreographer, Holm was also active on Broadway, best known for her work on musicals such as "My Fair Lady," "Kiss Me, Kate" and "Camelot."

Few would recognize her work now as specifically "German," and a Nikolais multimedia piece today seems as American as 1960s psychedelia—not the German Bauhaus derivative it once seemed. Nonetheless,

less, the Nikolais view that man is part of his environment—not at its center—is straight out of Wigman's philosophy.

The German influence, even at several generations removed, should therefore not go ignored. There have been other choreographers or teachers of the Central European persuasion in the United States (Pola Nirenka, Erika Thimey, Jan Veen, for example).

Now a new German influence is being felt in American dance. Elko and Koma, Japanese dancers who live in New York City, studied in the 1970s in West Germany with Manu Dibango; their gift for distillation is not unrelated to German expressionist devices.

It is the ZeroMoving Dance Company from Philadelphia, which has just had its first major season in New York, at the Joyce Theatre, that most strikingly looks back to German tradition.

Helmut Gottschild, who founded the company in 1972, was Wigman's last assistant in West Berlin before he came to the United States in the late 1960s. His own performances in New York City with Group Motion, his first American troupe, were unforgettable. Here was a demonstration of Wigman technique in pure dance terms at its most powerful. To see Gottschild (then known as Fricke-Gottschild) with back curved, using his torso and arms with whip-like force, was a revelation.

ZeroMoving, directed by Gottschild and Karen Ramonette, an American, adapts this training technique, in less violent form, to new creative purpose. The results are not all that satisfactory—not because the idiom is at fault but because it does not support the burden of ideas in the troupe's pieces.

This is dance that does not look like other American dance, mainly because it proffers imagery heavy with past associations. "The Green Chair" (a Totentanz led by Gottschild as a different drummer, literally armed with a snare drum) and "Ash and Flowers," with a populace in underwear and raincoats trapped in a no-exit room, have movement and dancers worth watching. But in each of these pieces by Gottschild a metaphor is promised and never developed.

Ramonette does best when she steers away from deliberate neo-German images, which she did not in "Inventur." Here Gottschild portrayed a peasant woman listening to German songs while the dancers offered presumably ironic commentary on a German poem about postwar hardship that was printed in the program. In "Domani Facile," Ramonette created an image of a power play between a man and a woman (portrayed by a man) who controlled five other women, all in black slips. The aura of sensuality that permeated the piece obviously had something to do with the enthusiastic audience response.

"Others Journey" is accompanied in the program by a thick-sounding quote from Jorge Luis Borges, but here Ramonette has jumped off a more inspiring springboard. The centrifugal force of the Wigman-derived technique makes the dancers in this ensemble piece seem hurled about by blasts of air. And yet they can also seem to be plowing weightlessly through space—an impressive dynamic contrast. Being different is not as good as being good and different.

## Hedda Gabler at Her Maddest

By Sheridan Morley  
International Herald Tribune

LONDON—On the open Olivier stage of the National, the new Howard Davies revival of "Hedda Gabler" is nothing if not spectacular: a wide, sweeping staircase giving great vistas of the garden outside for the storm, and a great center-stage stove which, when Hedda finally burns the manuscript she thinks of as a child, sends off great puffs of smoke up to National's roof.

Juliet Stevenson's performance in the title role is also on the grand-scale. Apparently barking mad from the outset, she rampages through the play like an ice maiden on speed, brandishing her father's pistols like a mass murderer and actually unable in the final moments to choose between suicide and a marathon burst of shooting to decimate all the other loathed inhabitants of her drawing room.

Hedda is here the anti-heroine of a Victorian morality play. The First Mrs. Tesman instead of The Second Mrs. Tesman, and her home looks like the kind of library someone would have built for a light-house.

Norman Rodway's rather too genial and jovial Judge Brack, Paul Shelley's amiable Tesman and Paul Jesson's very lightweight Lovborg stand aimlessly around waiting for Hedda to decide whether she is to die or kill for boredom. Christopher Hampton's new translation offers a bleak melodrama of lust and loathing and madness but not a more clinical case-history Hedda of the recent past. Somehow we seem to have moved a lot closer to a Norwegian Rebecca.

Back in 1986, the actor Michael Pennington and the director Michael Bogdanov set up their English Shakespeare Company with a view to touring across the world, under the title "The Wars of the Roses," all eight of the histories that stretch across a century from Richard II through Henry IV, V and VI to Richard III.

What this company is offering at the Old Vic, after long weeks on various international roads, is a rough-and-ready epic apparently designed for those unfamiliar with

## THE LONDON STAGE

the plays and possibly in danger of falling asleep at their more impetuous or tedious stretches. Accordingly, we get a weird mishmash of Victorian, Edwardian and modern dress, rock music, football-crowd chanting and even such un-Shakespearean interpolations as "Morning, have a nice day."

Bogdanov's productions are aimed by the young at the young. The idea would seem to be that energy and love are all you need for these histories, and if some of the verse-speaking has to be heard not to be believed and if some of the cast rushing in for their third or fourth characterization of the night seem to have only the haziest idea of whom they are supposed to be portraying, then that is perhaps the price to be paid for a costumed pageant.

The cycle will probably be at its best over the weekend of Feb. 25-26, when between Friday and Sunday night it can be seen in its entirety. Never mind the intelligence, feel the energy.

The Tara Arts Group is a professional, subsidized theater company that tours Britain with an occasional season at the Commonwealth Institute in London. In their current repertoire is "Ala Afara," an Indian-English adaptation of Gogol's "Government Inspector" brilliantly located in a small Hindi-speaking town just after independence.

The town is so small the residents still reckon they are living under British rule, so that, when a minor pen-pushing clerk arrives from London claiming to have written several plays by Noel Coward and to have frequently encountered T.S. Eliot during social gatherings on Hampstead Heath, the locals take him for the inspector and duly enact Gogol's original mistaken-identity farce.

What works so well here is the idea that a community miles from the center of power is much the same the world over. All the snobbery and insecurity that Gogol revealed, as his Russian local council fell over themselves to welcome the man from St. Petersburg, works equally well for Indians desperately hoping the man from London will bring answers to at least some of their social and political and domestic ailments.

The director is Anuradha Kapur from the National School of Drama in Delhi, and true to Tara's aims he has blended English dialogue with Indian musical rhythms and folk-theater traditions to come up with a celebration of Gogol's play that is also an investigation into its universality and an attempt to look at the greater lunacies of post-colonial India.

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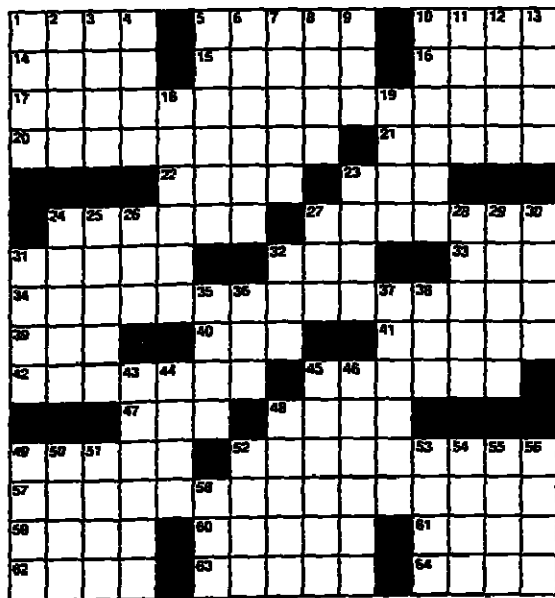
- 1 Blow one's own horn
- 5 Buffalo tails
- 10 Saxons
- 14 The monk parrot
- 15 "and nothing more"
- 16 Snout Clapton
- 17 Of the third syllable from the end
- 20 Flavorful bark
- 21 T o u s
- 22 Africans
- 23 Kind of soup
- 24 Go to a meeting
- 27 Unlabeled remark
- 31 Forluring to bees
- 32 Veiga fender
- 33 R44 Hawthorn's knot

## DOWN

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- 2 Author Jaffe
- 3 Part of BFA
- 4 Departs

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- 6 Author of "The Rover"
- 7 Commonplace
- 8 Some messages Abbr
- 9 Defeat a bridge
- 10 Abuse
- 11 Spirited horse
- 12 Necessity for a catcher
- 13 Golf rarties
- 18 — leather
- 19 Notion
- 24 Marshall
- 26 Granny Smith's one
- 25 Like many bathroom walls
- 26 Randy's skating partner
- 27 Emulate Tomba
- 28 Kent's — Planet
- 29 Santa's little helpers
- 30 Pumpkinickels
- 31 Stringed instrument of yore
- 32 Canceled
- 35 Baghdad is its capital
- 36 Seine
- 37 Duty on foreign goods
- 38 Aunt, in Avila
- 43 Cherry red
- 44 Character in "The Good Earth"
- 45 Make a new mold
- 46 Winter months in Madrid
- 48 Wanton looks
- 49 Baltic Sea leader
- 50 Sister of Zeus
- 51 In the distance
- 52 Portico for Plato
- 53 Symbol of smoothness
- 54 Sacred picture
- 55 Hodgepodge
- 56 Aerie or shaggery
- 58 Robert of "Quincy M.E."

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# Herald Tribune

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## Gorbachev After Kabul

This could be the start of Mikhail Gorbachev's toughest time yet. Soviet troops are to be out of Afghanistan by the end of the week. This military humiliation — the first contraction of Soviet power ever made at gunpoint — will almost certainly be followed by a political humiliation, the collapse of the Communist regime in Kabul. The Soviet people may accept Mr. Gorbachev's explanation that retreat had become inevitable, but they will hate being beaten. That is Mr. Gorbachev's February problem.

His March problem is the election of the Soviet Union's new parliament. By Western standards the election on March 26 is a commendable first step toward free choice. For some Russians it is either depressingly not enough or frighteningly too much. The liberals note the Communist Party's continuing power to block candidates it does not like. The conservatives will be horrified if a handful of non-Communists nevertheless beat Communists in Estonia and Lithuania, thereby encouraging a lot more non-Communists next time around. The election sharpens Mr. Gorbachev's war-on-two-fronts trouble at home. And he has not yet worked out the answer to his biggest difficulty, the economic one. By the end of this

year he needs to have settled the basics of the next five-year plan, but the most basic decision of all, it seems, remains a blur.

Soviet economists argue that the economy will not run properly until it has real prices which reflect the real value of things. Soviet politicians, including Mr. Gorbachev, reply that any swift move toward real prices would bring a politically intolerable inflation. Before he starts seriously freeing prices, Mr. Gorbachev wants to get production growing — by breaking up the old industrial monopolies and encouraging the small new units to compete with each other. The more goods the money is chasing, the less the inflation. The snag is that competition cannot really get going, producing more goods, until the competitors know the real prices of what they buy and sell.

Free prices need competition. Competition needs free prices. Mr. Gorbachev has not yet found a way of inserting himself into that magic circle. He has almost completed four years in power, an American presidential term. He goes into his second term with a hole at the heart of his economic policy. After Afghanistan and a troublesome election, that makes a tough time coming.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE.

## A Cautious Reconciliation

The last summit of the Soviet Union and China 30 years ago produced a run of military, political and ideological conflict that is only now approaching an end. The two Communist-ruled powers have just agreed on a new summit that will bring together Mikhail Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping in Beijing in May. One of the sturdiest and seemingly most immutable features of 20th century geopolitics, the Chinese-Soviet split, is undergoing change.

The cautious and still incomplete reconciliation, while promising advantage to both countries, affords special satisfaction to the Chinese. They had a specific price for "normalization" — that Moscow yield its military pressure points in Asia by thinning its troops along the 7,400-kilometer (4,600-mile) border, withdrawing from Afghanistan and pressing Vietnam to leave Cambodia. China's objectives were reasonable, and it refused to compromise on them. By an early turn to reform, moreover, it strengthened its capacity to hold out against Soviet challenge — and perhaps even ensured that Moscow, too, would turn from external confrontation to domestic repair. In time, a Soviet leader came along who was prepared to coexist more or less on Chinese terms. It helped that

both governments were coming into crisis and feeling pressure to abandon their separate versions of the Marxist creed, a development that diminished the raw ideological aspect of their hostility.

The Chinese-Soviet split, while it lasted, was a great break for the West. It forced the Kremlin to divide its resources to protect itself from China as well as from the United States. It gave both Communist powers national reason to open to the United States. In the time bought by this arrangement, freedom had a better chance to demonstrate its advantages, and Marxism its utter inadequacies. This is what allows Washington to meet with relative calm a Chinese-Soviet mellowing which had it occurred earlier, would have had to be regarded as a strategic disaster.

As it is, the normal geopolitical facts of life, along with China's and the Soviet Union's low technological level, will tend to limit their closeness and to incline both of them to face outward to the United States, Europe and, of course, Japan. America can live with a world of various, interacting centers of power. This is what the 21st century will look like, if we are careful and lucky.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Super-Expensive Science

Science continues to get bigger. The titles tell the story — supercolliders, supercomputers, superconductivity. But these super projects are super costly. George Bush would be rash, in the budget plan he will offer this week, to approve all the science extravaganzas his predecessor endorsed.

He has no task more urgent than to restore America's flagging pace of innovation. The traditional patterns of science funding have failed to help. Instead of letting each agency push its own agenda, he can redirect scientific resources toward a national goal: improving productivity.

NASA would be a good place to start. The space agency used to lead on two frontiers — space and technology. In the 1960s, its need for new materials and computers energized civilian research. Not any more. Its goal of building a grandiose \$23 billion space station is largely make-work.

That gives Mr. Bush a splendid opportunity: assign NASA a mission in space designed to maximize the technology spin-off for civilian markets. The agenda almost writes itself: Phase out the antique shuttle and space station; develop a new generation of rockets designed to put payloads in space at minimum cost; fund research on robotics, computers and new materials to advance the unmanned exploration of space.

The superconducting supercollider — a \$4 billion machine for exploring the ultimate constituents of matter — is another science spectacular. The purpose is worthy but the cost prohibitive. Other physicists correctly fear that the supercollider will drain funds from their research. High-energy physicists insist that Washington must

build it, or stifle their research. There are far cheaper options. One is to collaborate in the highly successful European laboratory at Geneva. Another is to build a different kind of machine, known as a linear accelerator. Backers of the supercollider claim that its technology is well tested, but in fact there are still major design problems with its superconducting magnets.

Moreover, these are not the most advanced kind of superconductors. New superconducting materials will spawn whole new industries in the 1990s, and Japan may already lead in the race to exploit them. If the United States has to drop \$5 billion into a supercollider, let it at least be one with a chance of helping the new superconducting materials toward practical application.

A third venture in roccoco research is the \$3 billion human genome project. Deciphering the full chemical sequence of human genetic instructions will be of great medical importance. But the Reagan administration planned to let university biologists run the project, spreading the risk around the states to build the usual constituency. Shouldn't companies that might directly profit from it have some clear voice in its direction? That would speed commercial application and help American companies challenge foreign competition.

The design of the space station, the supercollider and the human genome project have one thing in common: a near total disregard of how such ventures might hurt American competitiveness. President Bush's best science policy would be to rethink all three from scratch.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Other Comment

### China Is Getting Its Way

Moscow has finally convinced Beijing that Mikhail Gorbachev and Deng Xiaoping should hold a summit meeting. The Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, left Beijing at the weekend with mid-May as the date for a gathering that is meant to symbolize rapprochement between the two Communist giants. At least that is how the Soviets see it. The Chinese tend to regard the series of Soviet concessions that have created a climate for such a meeting as recognition that Moscow is making up for its past mistakes.

For Beijing, the summit will symbolize greater Soviet respect for China and its position in the world. China will never allow such a meeting to signal that Moscow is resuming its old role as the senior partner, which is why the West can be fairly relaxed about what is happening. The reality is that

the Soviets need this summit more than the Chinese do, and Mr. Deng is playing that fact for all that it is worth.

So far it has been worth rather a lot. Chinese demands that are being met include the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and a reduction in Soviet forces deployed on the border with China. The third big issue, Vietnam's continued occupation of Cambodia, has still to be resolved. Sufficient progress was made during Mr. Shevardnadze's visit for a summit to be announced.

Mr. Gorbachev is relying on foreign successes to limit the damage caused to his leadership by the failure of perestroika, so far, to get off the ground. The diversion of resources to reform means that foreign tensions must be kept to a minimum; economic interests are increasingly important.

— The Age (Melbourne).

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## OPINION



Meanwhile, deep in the White House basement, a lonely hostage awaits rescue . . .

## On Building A New Road For Burma

By Robert H. Taylor

LONDON — When the Burmese army reasserted control over the government in September, many observers concluded that the move reflected nothing more than U Ne Win and his old-guard officers stamping out change, denying any chance of significant political and economic reform. That view continues to dominate foreign reporting of Burma.

The military portrayed the September coup as a replication of events in 1958, when the army temporarily supplanted the civilian government to re-establish political and economic order so that free and fair elections could be held — as they were, 18 months later. In many ways that the army has done since September is reminiscent of 1958 — building roads, cleaning up the cities, removing squatters, and opening special food shops with lower prices.

But conditions have changed since 1958. The years of socialist army rule and military dominance since U Ne Win took power in March 1962 have seen a doubling of the population, a disintegration of large sectors of the official economy, a proliferation of inchoate opposition groups and an abandonment of the political issues that dominated political thinking after independence from Britain in 1948.

Last year marked a turning point in Burmese politics. The central issues of public policy are being redefined, beginning with the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist images of the 1960s and 1970s. Economic issues that other Asian governments began to address 20 years ago are now being considered. And Burma has undergone a generational change, jettisoning the leaders who came to prominence in the 1940s and 1950s.

U Ne Win and his circle have given up the formal reins of power and abandoned all offices and institutions of rule. Effective power lies increasingly in the hands of the younger generals and colonels who, in September, formed the Council for the Restoration of Law and Order in the State.

Many of these officers knew before 1988 that the old socialist autarky was not moving the nation forward, but they lacked the confidence and experience to do anything about it. Now they must act on their own. Their confidence is not only in the liberal economic policies they have introduced but in their moves toward a more open government. Burma is still far from being an open society. But there have been changes. Ministers now hold frequent press conferences. And while the official Working People's Daily may be the only newspaper published, it is more informative than in years.

Burma's future is usually seen in terms of when or whether elections will be held to form a new government. The army has contended throughout that elections will take place. Electoral rolls are to be completed by the end of April. More than 180 political parties have been formed, though many of them are not serious organizations.

The major forces are the former ruling group, the Burma Socialist Program Party, now the National Unity Party, and the opposition National League for Democracy.

Many analysts have written off the National Unity Party because of its descent from the old regime. But this seems premature, especially if, when elections are held, farm prices are up and administrative officers decide to support the people they know.

But are elections all that important to Burma's future? Regardless of who wins, the younger army officers now in power seem likely to dominate politics for a long time.

The officers who dominated Burma from 1948 to 1988 claimed sole credit for achieving independence and maintaining state sovereignty in the face of opposition or head-dragging from civilian politicians and businessmen, as well as foreign governments. But in the eyes of the younger officers, the socialist autarky left the country weak, if dominant, government, an underfunded military, economic stagnation and an unending insurgency.

What conclusions will the younger officers draw from their present problems? The longer they remain isolated from the assistance and good will of the international community, the more they will conclude, as did their predecessors, that Burma should go it alone. The longer Burma is isolated, the less likely it is that significant reforms will take place.

The writer is head of the Department of Economic and Political Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. He wrote this for the International Herald Tribune.

## The Legacy of Stalinism Has Yet to Be Overcome

By Max Jakobson

HELSINKI — As Soviet forces withdraw from Afghanistan, the Soviet people are beginning to learn the truth about an earlier failure of the Red Army to subdue a small neighboring nation. At long last, 50 years after the event, glasnost is catching up with the Soviet invasion of Finland.

Colonel General Dimitri Volkogonov, head of the Soviet Institute of Military History and author of a massive biography of Stalin, talked freely about Stalin's blunders when we met recently in Moscow.

He defended the nonaggression pact that Stalin made with Hitler in August 1939, on the grounds that the Western powers had shown little interest in joining the Soviet Union in a common front against Nazi Germany. Stalin had reason to fear that Russia might be left alone to face a German onslaught. But it was "morally reprehensible," according to General Volkogonov, to make a secret deal dividing Poland and assigning Finland and the Baltic states to the Soviet sphere of influence. This was contrary to Lenin's principle of "open contracts."

The agreement with Germany was engineered by Stalin and his foreign minister, Vyacheslav Molotov, in a conspiratorial manner. Half the Politburo learned about it from the newspapers after it had been signed.

As to Finland, General Volkogonov said it was understandable that Stalin suspected that the Germans might try to use the country as a route of attack against the Soviet Union. But Stalin failed to exhaust all possibilities of reaching an agreement with Finland by diplomatic means. Instead he used a fabricated border incident as a pretext for going to war.

And he underestimated the strength of the Finnish resistance. As a result, the Red Army was woefully unprepared for the winter campaign.

Stalin's biggest blunder, according to General Volkogonov, was to set up a puppet government of Finnish Communists. This revealed his total inability to grasp the reality of the situation

in Finland. The Soviet stooges had no support among the Finnish people, whose resistance was only stiffened by this challenge to their independence.

Indeed, General Volkogonov said the Soviet people "greatly admired Finland's fight for her independence."

None of this is news to Finns or any others outside the Soviet Union who know something about the Winter War of 1939-40. But it is news to the Soviet public, which for 50 years has been taught to believe that the war in Finland was a Soviet victory over the aggressive forces of imperialism.

Rewriting history is a Soviet growth industry today. It is not an academic search for the truth for its own sake. (The academic historians are still waiting for the archives to open.) Exposing the crimes and mistakes of the Stalin

era is an essential part of President Mikhail Gorbachev's campaign to mobilize support for his reforms.

General Volkogonov's Stalin biography, which is due to be published within the next few months, is likely to be an important contribution to this campaign. This is a book by a man who reached the rank of general 20 years ago at the age of 40 and has served as deputy head of the political administration of the Soviet armed forces. His credentials as a Soviet patriot are impeccable.

The pernicious influences of Stalin's dictatorship, as General Volkogonov told me, can still be felt today. He summed them up as ossified ideology, an all-embracing bureaucracy and belief in force as the solution to all problems. The legacy of Stalinism must be

overcome before Mr. Gorbachev's reforms can be made to work.

General Volkogonov's critique of Stalin's Finland policy is clearly designed to strengthen the credibility of Mr. Gorbachev's "new thinking" on international relations. The message is that the use of force to settle problems between states is inadvisable and ineffective, and that trying to export communism is counterproductive.

As Big Brother said in George Orwell's "1984," whoever controls the past controls the future. The great debate about Stalinism is at heart about the future of the Soviet system. It is unusual in that for once truth is on the side of those who hold power.

The writer is a former Finnish ambassador to the United Nations. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

## America Should Support Gorbachev

By Jeremy J. Stone

The writer is president of the Federation of American Scientists.

WASHINGTON — From the point of view of America's national interest, nothing is more obvious than the desirability of doing all that we can to keep Mikhail Gorbachev in office. He is patently dropping out of the arms race and the Cold War and asking us to come along.

In foreign policy, the Soviet Union is helping perestroika. Yasser Arafat is renouncing terrorism; supporting political settlements in Angola and Indochina; withdrawing from Afghanistan; moving toward large and militarily significant unilateral troop reductions in Europe.

In domestic policy, Mr. Gorbachev is offering Soviet society major advances in free speech; experimenting with new forms of democracy; trying to promote a better life for Soviet citizens.

In these and numerous other ways, Mr. Gorbachev is, from our viewpoint, the best general secretary we could dream of seeing. Indeed, he

holds out the possibility of returning, through disarmament, to a world in which we are no longer at imminent risk of destruction.

Thus, nothing is more irresponsible than the attitude of the self-proclaimed "responsible" statesmen in Washington. Schopenhauer once enumerated the 40 different ways to confuse an argument; they are all in heavy use today in Washington in the service of avoiding the question, "Shouldn't we help Gorbachev?"

The careerists are reluctant to link themselves to any Soviet leader by seeming too enthusiastic. Who knows what might happen between now and a future confirmation hearing? Others, on the left, are determined to argue that our defense budget and attendant problems can all be resolved unilaterally no matter who is in charge in Moscow. So nobody wants to champion helping Gorbachev.

By arguing that we "can't do that much" or "should not give monetary aid," or that "he might not last too long," or that "America should only act in American interests," the establishment treats the whole issue as a spectator sport in which it need not play a role.

For establishment members, Mr. Gorbachev provides an occasion to review their policies and, happily, to find them not too far off the mark. After all, in Washington careers are made by stressing one's "vigilance," "prudence" and hawkiness — not by going out on a limb on the need for

bold new approaches toward an adversary of 40 years' standing.

But the policy issue won't go away and is, indeed, getting more acute. Buffeted by earthquakes, nationalism and agricultural problems and the instabilities induced by even the mention of perestroika, not to speak of the wide currency given these problems as a result of glasnost, Mr. Gorbachev may succumb.

If he does, what can we expect? Certainly not glasnost and not freedom of action for Soviet republics. Instead, a halt to unilateral moves in disarmament, and probably a return to the usual deadlocks. Very possibly a return to ruling by regenerating fear of an outside enemy — namely, us. Certainly a leadership less able to sustain the kind of dialogue needed to settle world problems.

Washingtonians who have made a career of advising how to deal with that kind of Soviet Union might feel more comfortable with its return. But who, on earth, would also?

Obviously, this is not the time to go slow in disarmament preparations or to hold Mr. Gorbachev and his initiatives at arm's length. We should seize the opportunity to cut deals which we might otherwise have wanted but have been unable to negotiate. And we should begin to trade with the Soviets under more normal rules and regulations.

In all matters, we should hold out concrete examples of how we are prepared to reward the kind of Soviet behavior that we want — behavior that Mr. Gorbachev has shown he personifies.

Above all, Mr. Gorbachev and George Bush should participate in familiarization visits so that both countries can see them and be seen by them. It does not take a whole lot to do what we can to help Mr. Gorbachev, but it does take something.

The Soviet Union, known for 70 years for cynicism and pretension, today is led by a pragmatic visionary who acts with idealism and statesmanship. Our own political establishment has been confounded and immobilized by the sudden change in the character of the Soviet leadership. Accordingly, most American political leaders permit themselves to assert no more than that Mr. Gorbachev represents a new "challenge" to us. In fact, he represents an asset and an opportunity. If we fail to seize this opportunity in time, who among us will not later regret it profoundly?

The New York Times.

## Not the Way to Manage a Democracy

By Tom Wicker

NEW YORK — When Jimmy Carter was campaigning for president in 1976, he frequently said that America should "go straight" and that "the people" sometimes, however, the people are the problem, as demonstrated once again by their fury over a necessary and justified salary rise proposed for members of Congress and other federal officials.

That misplaced outrage has doomed the pay increase. Under pressure from the public, Speaker Jim Wright first announced a vote on cutting it from 50 to 30 percent. Under even heavier pressure, he now has knuckled under completely and scheduled a roll-call vote on the increase itself.

That all but certainly will kill it, since most members of the House consider it political suicide to vote to raise their own pay.

Congress deserves some of the public contempt in which it is held, and it is true that a 50 percent increase is more than most Americans ever can expect from their employers. It might well have been wiser to schedule, say, three 15 percent rises over five or six years.

But members of Congress would have had to forgo, in return for the pay rise, the substantial honoraria they now are permitted to accept. They are paid considerably less than their responsibilities ought to command. A stretched-out plan would have prolonged the serious financial problems, including the maintenance of two residences, that some have; and it might well have caused something like the current furor three times instead of once.

The public outcry, moreover, was not really about the size of the pay

increase. More than half of those sampled in a Gallup Poll did not even know how much members of Congress now are paid.

Had the proposed rise been only 10 or 20 percent, the opposition probably would not have been much less vociferous. Indeed, the uproar was not stillled by Mr. Wright's proposal to scale back the increase.

That is because it was based fundamentally on the low esteem in which government, especially Congress, is held by the American people — few of whom in their traditional disdain for politicians think that any increase, or even the current pay level, is warranted.

Their opposition was sharpened, of course, by the roundabout way in which the pay increase was supposed to take effect — on the recommendation of a special commission, without Congress having to approve or defeat the proposal in an on-the-record vote.

The irony is that a major purpose of the pay increase was to attract better people to the public service, and to make it easier for them to stay there against the lure of better-paying jobs in the private sector — hence increasing, in theory, the public's regard for members of Congress and federal officials.

And the reason Congress did not want to vote on the matter, and to make it easier for them to stay there against the lure of better-paying jobs in the private sector — hence increasing, in theory, the public's regard for members of Congress and federal officials.

That is hardly what the people wanted, but it is what their righteous outrage will bring about.

ries. Thus the public was infuriated by a proposal aimed at improving a body which the same public now holds in contempt. And that same public denounced a "sneaky" process made necessary by its own blind and often irrational opposition to paying public officials salaries commensurate with their responsibilities. The result is democracy at its worst.

First, a mostly deserved increase will be denied — granted that some members, as in any union or corporation, have not really earned a higher salary.

Second, but not less important, many members will be forced to continue seeking outside honoraria to augment their government pay — and those "speaking fees" too often will be paid by predatory interests, inevitably diminishing the independence of Congress.

Third, the pay increase was scheduled for federal attorneys and judges, executive branch officials, the president — many of whom earn nothing like what the private sector would pay them and all of whom will be denied vital additional income, basically because of the public's contempt for Congress.

The net effect, in all three branches of government, will be to make it more difficult for men and women without income other than salary to serve in important government positions, and more likely that only people of wealth or dependent on special interests will be able or willing to serve in those offices.

That is hardly what the people wanted, but it is what their righteous outrage will bring about.

The New York Times.

## 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1889: A Slave Trade

NEW YORK — An investigation just held at Victoria, British Columbia, shows that scores of Chinese women and men are smuggled into the United States, and so women cost in China not more than \$40 each, their passage being but \$2, and as they sell in San Francisco for from \$240 to \$400 a head, it can be seen that the profit is great. For a time the Chinese merchants had a monopoly of this slave trade, but a syndicate was later formed, the members being Americans, Englishmen and Chinese.

### 1914: Wilson's Gamble

NEW YORK — Opinion among European and Latin American diplomats is almost unanimous that Woodrow Wilson's determination to maintain constitutional governments in Latin America is certain to lead the United States into an aggressive imperialistic policy requiring the support of military forces. The situations in Mex-

ico, Nicaragua, Haiti, Peru and San Domingo indicate the enormity of the task the United States has undertaken.

### 1939: Gutenberg Tribute

PARIS — Strasbourg, city on the Rhine famed for its stocks, for its Alsatian cooking and for having been the site of the early experiments of Johannes Gutenberg, which resulted in the invention of printing, is laying plans to celebrate the 500th anniversary of Gutenberg's feat. Alsatian folk festivals will reproduce the atmosphere of the days when Gutenberg was making his visits with the experiments resulted in the printing history is shrouded in mystery. Many experts agree, however, that Strasbourg, a semi-independent German town, which maintained its freedom during the centuries-long struggles between the cities and the home during most of its career.



## OPINION

## Letter From Prisoner Kazachkov's Mother

By A. M. Rosenthal

NEW YORK — The commandant at the Soviet prison camp in the Urals said that unfortunately some of the prisoners were down with the grippe and were in the hospital ward. No visitors allowed; he would not budge.

As we walked in the snow from one prison building to another, somebody managed to throw open a window in the locked ward.

"We want to see you," he shouted down. Then he was pulled away and the window slammed shut.

The commandant hardly bothered to look up. He knew the voice.

"Kazachkov," he said, and led us off. That was in December, when the Soviet Union permitted me to visit Perm 35, the camp 1,600 kilometers (1,000 miles) from Moscow where many Soviet political prisoners had been imprisoned.

It was allowed to talk with some of the prisoners on my list, but I never did see the man at the window or the others in the locked ward. I have thought a good deal about him because he was so brave.

Now, here is a letter sent from Leningrad: "My only son, Mikhail Petrovich Kazachkov, has already been a political prisoner in the strict-regime Perm labor camps and in the terrible Chistopol prison for 13 years. He was arrested in 1975, a week after he submitted an application to the Office of Visas and Registration in order to leave the Soviet Union.

"The Leningrad City Court convicted him under Article 64 of the Criminal Code for 'betrayal of the Motherland in the form of help to a foreign state (the U.S.A.).' This 'betrayal' consisted of the fact that my son met on a couple of occasions with an American vice consul in Leningrad and asked him for help with his emigration."

Dora Arkadyevna Kazachkova writes further: only two or three letters a year allowed, three daylong visits a year and, in 13 years, one package permitted. Her son has spent 100 days in punishment cells, five years in solitary confinement. For hunger strikes against prison conditions he was sentenced to another three and a half years in prison.

She is 76, and exhausted, she writes. Hopes of surviving until her son's liberation are slipping, help he can get.

Well, an old story — a Soviet citizen applies for a visa, the KGB sees he is a physicist, and also a Jew, finds out he talked to an American visa officer. Arrest, months of interrogation without a defense lawyer, trial and conviction — for treason. The prisoner gets no record of the trial, no copy of the indictment.

But aren't those days gone? Yes, they certainly seem to be; thousands are leaving the Soviet Union. And haven't all the political prisoners been released?

Letters intended for publication should be addressed "Letters to the Editor" and contain the writer's signature, name and full address. Letters should be brief and are subject to editing. We cannot be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

By A. M. Rosenthal

No, not all. It took Mikhail Gorbachev about three years to concede that there were political prisoners in the Soviet Union at all. But then he did release those incarcerated under articles of the criminal code that carried prison sentences for criticizing the government or for religious activity — a historic step applauded around the world.

But the freed prisoners left behind men whom they also consider political prisoners. They were the ones charged

## ON MY MIND

with treason or other serious offenses for acts that would not be crimes in most other countries.

I met some of them in Perm 35 — men imprisoned for years, sometimes a decade or more, for trying to get a visa and falling into a KGB trap, or for trying to leave without an exit permit. They have been locked away for trying to escape conditions of government and society that Mr. Gorbachev now denounces.

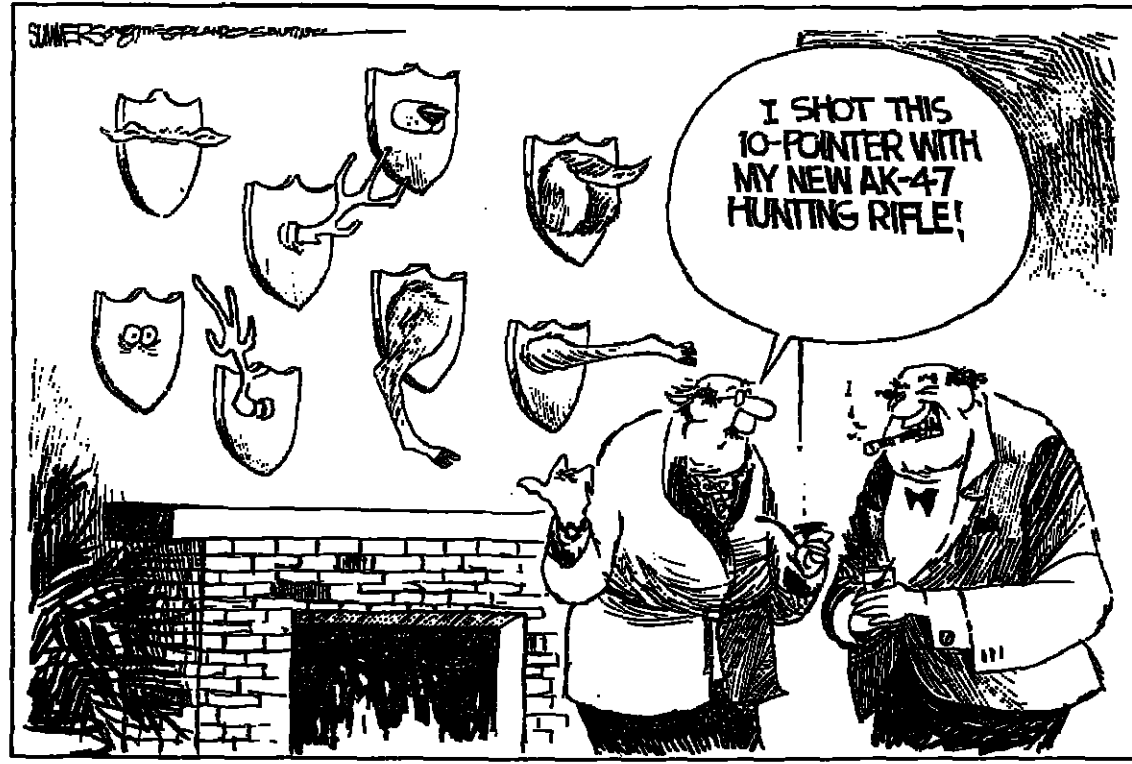
Nobody knows how many of these political prisoners still remain in cells. The trial process is secret. The KGB often deliberately has selected the charge of treason to hold the threat of the death penalty over its victims and to prevent them from being considered political prisoners by the outside world.

The KGB has not lost its power in the Soviet Union; its name still arouses fear in Perm 35 and outside it. The machinery of repression remains. Armenian nationalists know how quickly it can be enforced, still.

But for the first time, a Soviet government has shown that it does respond to voices at home and abroad calling out the names of political prisoners. The hope of the men still imprisoned in an era now reviled under laws now denounced is that their names will continue to be called out.

I do not know what happened to Mr. Kazachkov after he was pulled from the window. But at the camp, a prosecutor from Moscow promised that no prisoner who had talked to us, or had tried to, would be punished. He gave his word.

The New York Times



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

sense and intelligent reasoning. Leave the Nazis in their graves.

H. S. McLELLAN, Singapore.

Regarding "Germany Can't Ignore Auschwitz-in-the-Sand" (Opinion, Jan. 3) by William Safire:

This reader regrets any global condemnation of the German people for the atrocities of an earlier generation. But with all respect, the Germans' collective response to their government's inaction over the Libyan chemical plant should be a thorough investigation and punishment to the fullest extent of all involved.

RAMI KALUS, Paris.

Mr. Cohen tries to appease the fighting parties by saying that the Germans, like other ordinary people, have the right to be wrong, and that the actions of a few badies should not be sufficient to indict a nation. That is nice to hear, but the issues are too important.

Mr. Safire has the right to be angry. We should be glad he uses his influence to warn us against the dangers of a poison gas plant in Moammar Gadhafi's control.

ANGELA M. MATTERN, Paris.

## A Way to Redeem Justice

Regarding the report "The Black and White of Justice in a South African Murder" (Jan. 27):

As a South African citizen, I wish to express my sense of outrage, sorrow and concern at the travesty of justice committed by Justice Jan Strydom in his

sentencing of two white men, Jacobus Vorster and Petrus Leonard, for the murder of Eric Samba, a black.

Efforts by Helen Suzman, a veteran member of Parliament, to impeach Justice Strydom are certainly necessary; his sentencing shows a pitiless disregard for right and wrong. But this is not enough. Justice can only be redeemed when a retrial of Mr. Vorster and Mr. Leonard is scheduled. They can then be sentenced according to the brutality of their crime. Only a correct retrial will deter those who commit racial murders.

CONSTANCE BOHLER-ROBERTS, Uetikon, Switzerland.

## More Terrorist Addresses

Regarding the opinion column "We've Known All Along Where the Terrorists Live" (Jan. 11):

A. M. Rosenthal writes that we all know the addresses of the terrorists, then he lists only Syria, Iran and Libya. Has he forgotten Irish, German, Italian, Japanese, Lebanese, North Korean, South African and Sikh terrorists, among others?

Add them to his short list and you see just how impossible is his plan to ostracize nations breeding terrorists.

RICHARD PATRICK WILSON, Mobile, Alabama.

## Beyond Kind and Gentle

Regarding "Excerpt From President Bush's Address" (Jan. 21):

In his inaugural address, George Bush said, in part: "America is never wholly herself unless she is engaged in high

moral purpose. We as a people have such a purpose today. It is to make kinder the face of a nation and gentler the face of the world."

I suggest it is more. It is to take the lead in a move forward into a spiritual understanding of life and its purpose. Otherwise the only point is to keep the peace in a civilization whose sights are set on merely material ends and means. Why should a ghetto youth work hard for an education or at a mundane job if he can earn a small fortune dealing in crack? We are on a path to increasing violence if we don't leave behind the materialism that has mesmerized us.

DUANE STANFIELD, Fortes, Scotland.

Regarding "It's Hail to the Chief to the Tune of \$30 Million" and "Game Bets Tagged at \$20 Billion" (Jan. 19):

I was dismayed by the \$30 million cost of the inaugural festivities. If only those interest-free loans from corporate sponsors had instead gone to needy families.

Even more startling was the news that \$20 billion was to be spent gambling on the Super Bowl. This amount would make a serious dent in the U.S. budget deficit. Why must we be so profligate?

HOWARD M. LIEBMAN, Brussels.

A new wind blowing in Washington? With all the hot air in that town, it's hard to tell. From where I sit, it looks like we've traded in a Tefloned seculcher for a duck-billed platypus.

DONALD ARTHUR, Munich.

## ANNOUNCING

the next in a series of all-advertising features in The New York Times focusing on the European Community's move to a frontier-free market.

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It will appear in the Business Day section of The New York Times in June, 1989

The first in the "Europe: Horizon 1992" series appeared in the Business Day section in December, 1988. In June and December through 1992, The New York Times will publish features updating the European Community's progress toward its historic goal, analyzing such key questions as monetary integration, labor legislation, airline deregulation and those centering on banking and financial services.

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1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17	10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17	10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17
18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25	18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25	18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25
26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33	26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33	26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33
34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41	34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41	34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41
42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49	42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49	42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49
GAME 4	GAME 5	GAME 6
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17	10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17	10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17
18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25	18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25	18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25
26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33	26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33	26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33
34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41	34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41	34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41
42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49	42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49	42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49

NAME \_\_\_\_\_ Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ COUNTRY \_\_\_\_\_

☐ CHEQUE ☐ DRAFT ☐ VISA ☐ M/C ☐ EXPIRY DATE \_\_\_\_\_

signature \_\_\_\_\_

IT 0208



NYSE Most Actives					
Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.	
UCC	17.25	17.00	17.00	-0.25	
IBM	165.00	164.00	164.00	-1.00	
AT&T	52.00	51.50	51.50	-0.50	
GE	34.00	33.50	33.50	-0.50	
Merck	48.00	47.50	47.50	-0.50	
Chrysler	28.00	27.50	27.50	-0.50	
General Motors	38.00	37.50	37.50	-0.50	
Eastman Kodak	42.00	41.50	41.50	-0.50	
Amgen	32.00	31.50	31.50	-0.50	
Boeing	55.00	54.50	54.50	-0.50	

Market Sales	
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	217,240,000
NYSE prev. close	17,554,750
NYSE 4 a.m. volume	1,395,000
NYSE prev. open	17,554,750
NYSE 4 p.m. volume	1,395,000
NYSE prev. open	17,554,750
NYSE volume down	2,647,000
NYSE volume up	2,647,000
NYSE volume down	2,647,000
NYSE volume up	2,647,000
NYSE volume down	2,647,000
NYSE volume up	2,647,000

NYSE Index				
	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Composite	162.23	161.48	161.48	-0.75
Industrials	162.23	161.48	161.48	-0.75
Financials	162.23	161.48	161.48	-0.75
Utilities	162.23	161.48	161.48	-0.75
Transportation	162.23	161.48	161.48	-0.75

**Tuesday's**

# NYSE

**Closing**

*Via The Associated Press*

AMEX Diary		
	Close	Prev.
Advanced	1.25	1.25
Declined	1.25	1.25
Unchanged	1.25	1.25
Total Issues	1.25	1.25

NASDAQ Index		
	Close	Chg.
Composite	1,215	+1.25
Industrials	1,215	+1.25
Financials	1,215	+1.25
Utilities	1,215	+1.25
Transportation	1,215	+1.25

AMEX Most Actives				
Vol.	High	Low	Last	Chg.
UCC	17.25	17.00	17.00	-0.25
IBM	165.00	164.00	164.00	-1.00
AT&T	52.00	51.50	51.50	-0.50
GE	34.00	33.50	33.50	-0.50
Merck	48.00	47.50	47.50	-0.50

Dow Jones Bond Averages		
	Close	Chg.
Bonds	98.25	+0.12
Utilities	98.25	+0.12
Industrials	98.25	+0.12

NYSE Diary		
	Close	Prev.
Advanced	1.25	1.25
Declined	1.25	1.25
Unchanged	1.25	1.25
Total Issues	1.25	1.25

Odd-Lot Trading In N.Y.			
Buy	Sell	Net	Chg.
Feb. 8	22,222	22,222	0
Feb. 7	22,222	22,222	0
Jan. 31	37,024	37,024	0

Dow Jones Averages				
	Open	High	Low	Last
Indus.	2,347.14	2,347.14	2,347.14	2,347.14
Fin.	2,347.14	2,347.14	2,347.14	2,347.14
Transp.	2,347.14	2,347.14	2,347.14	2,347.14
Com.	2,347.14	2,347.14	2,347.14	2,347.14

Standard & Poor's Index				
	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Industrials	347.43	346.43	346.43	-1.00
Financials	347.43	346.43	346.43	-1.00
Utilities	347.43	346.43	346.43	-1.00
Transportation	347.43	346.43	346.43	-1.00
Com.	347.43	346.43	346.43	-1.00

NASDAQ Diary		
	Close	Prev.
Advanced	1.25	1.25
Declined	1.25	1.25
Unchanged	1.25	1.25
Total Issues	1.25	1.25

AMEX Stock Index				
	High	Low	Close	Chg.
Indus.	324.43	324.43	324.43	+1.00
Fin.	324.43	324.43	324.43	+1.00
Transp.	324.43	324.43	324.43	+1.00
Com.	324.43	324.43	324.43	+1.00

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere.

Stock	Div	Yld	PE	High	Low	Last	Chg.
UCC	1.25	1.25	1.25	17.25	17.00	17.00	-0.25
IBM	1.25	1.25	1.25	165.00	164.00	164.00	-1.00
AT&T	1.25	1.25	1.25	52.00	51.50	51.50	-0.50
GE	1.25	1.25	1.25	34.00	33.50	33.50	-0.50
Merck	1.25	1.25	1.25	48.00	47.50	47.50	-0.50
Chrysler	1.25	1.25	1.25	28.00	27.50	27.50	-0.50
General Motors	1.25	1.25	1.25	38.00	37.50	37.50	-0.50
Eastman Kodak	1.25	1.25	1.25	42.00	41.50	41.50	-0.50
Amgen	1.25	1.25	1.25	32.00	31.50	31.50	-0.50
Boeing	1.25	1.25	1.25	55.00	54.50	54.50	-0.50

## NYSE Jumps in Heavy Trading

NEW YORK — The New York Stock Exchange broke a four-day retreat Tuesday, with a sharp gain in heavy trading that analysts attributed in part to a stock split and dividend increase by General Motors Corp.

The Dow Jones industrial average, which fell 10.15 points on Monday, jumped 26.07, ending at 2,347.14, its highest closing level since the October 1987 collapse.

"This advance represented a rush to equities on the part of those who have sat on the sidelines thinking the recent rally has been nothing more than a rally in a bear market," said Gene Seagle, director of technical research at Gruntal & Co. in New York.

"Foreign buying is playing a strong part in what's happening," Mr. Seagle said. "They are taking the play away from American money managers. Some of those money managers were forced to make a decision today."

Broader-market indexes also posted strong gains. The New York Stock Exchange index rose 1.83, to 168.02, and Standard & Poor's 500-stock index advanced 3.59, to 299.63. The price of an average share added 37 cents.

Advances swamped declines nearly 11 to 4 as volume swelled to 217.26 million shares from 150.98 million traded on Monday.

Traders said the market received a boost from the General Motors' announcement Monday that it would increase its quarterly dividend on common stock by 20 percent and would undertake a two-for-one stock split.

"The General Motors' announcement was a psychological boost," Mr. Seagle said. "It stim-

ulated confidence in the market. There is a growing belief that this is a major upturn and not a rally in a bear market. We have an active bull."

The advance came despite some uneasiness about whether the Federal Reserve's policy-making committee, which began discussions Tuesday, would decide on a further tightening of credit conditions and higher interest rates.

"Even if the Fed does do something, the consensus view is that will be it," said Ralph Bloch, chief market analyst at Raymond, James & Associates in St. Petersburg, Florida.

The "potential for higher rates is already built into the market," Mr. Bloch said. "There might be a brief sell-off, but it will be relatively shallow."

Union Carbide was the most active issue, up 2 1/4 to 30 3/4, on volume of more than 17 million shares as rumors of a leveraged buyout surrounded the stock throughout the session.

Navistar followed, unchanged at 6 1/4.

Burlington Resources was third, down 2 1/4 to 46 1/4. General Motors soared 4 1/4 to 37 1/4 in the wake of its stock announcement.

AT&T was up 1/4 to 51 3/4. IBM gained 1 to 127 1/4. Among the other blue chips, General Electric was up 1/4 to 34 1/4, Eastman Kodak was up 1/4 to 41 3/4, American Express up 1/4 to 31 1/4 and Merck was up 1/4 to 47 1/4.

Ford was up 1 1/4 to 55 1/4. Chrysler was up 1 to 28 1/4.

Prices closed higher in active trading on the American Stock Exchange.

The market value index rose 1.90 to close at 326.38.

Stock	Div	Yld	PE	High	Low	Last	Chg.
UCC	1.25	1.25	1.25	17.25	17.00	17.00	-0.25
IBM	1.25	1.25	1.25	165.00	164.00	164.00	-1.00
AT&T	1.25	1.25	1.25	52.00	51.50	51.50	-0.50
GE	1.25	1.25	1.25	34.00	33.50	33.50	-0.50
Merck	1.25	1.25	1.25	48.00	47.50	47.50	-0.50
Chrysler	1.25	1.25	1.25	28.00	27.50	27.50	-0.50
General Motors	1.25	1.25	1.25	38.00	37.50	37.50	-0.50
Eastman Kodak	1.25	1.25	1.25	42.00	41.50	41.50	-0.50
Amgen	1.25	1.25	1.25	32.00	31.50	31.50	-0.50
Boeing	1.25	1.25	1.25	55.00	54.50	54.50	-0.50

(Continued on next page)

سید محمد علی



**MEDIA MARKETS**

**Cover of New Magazine Suggests 'Read My Lips'**

By RANDALL ROTHENBERG

NEW YORK — Grace Mirabella, the former editor of *Vogue*, lifted the veil from her much-awaited new magazine late last week and revealed a cover without a woman on it. Instead, the prototype issue of *Mirabella* has on its bright, white front only a tantalizing, faceless impression from a pair of lips. Whether young lips or old, atop a model wearing Lacroix or Lauren, is unknown.

"We didn't want advertisers to say, 'Ah! So that's the Mirabella woman!'" said the magazine's publisher, Julie Lewit-Nirenberg, explaining the faceless cover.

By giving the "Mirabella woman" neither shape nor form nor age, the people at Murdoch Magazines, which will begin publishing *Mirabella* in June, hope to attract a wide body of readers and advertisers. They also hope to avoid — publicly, at least — any comparisons between *Mirabella* and *Vogue*, the Condé Nast magazine from which Ms. Mirabella, 58, was ousted in June after 17 years at the top.

Grace Mirabella's namesake publication, it is hoped, will escape being pigeonholed.

"We are not — emphasize not — going up against *L'Espresso*," said Ms. Lewit-Nirenberg, 44. She was referring to a year-old magazine aimed at women over 40. "I strongly believe that people do not dress, do not get up, do not make love, based on their age."

But the Murdoch people are taking the risk that marketers, ever desirous of directing appeals at finer and finer targets, will be confused by a publication that refuses to identify its readers demographically.

*Mirabella*'s prototype issue, which is being shown to advertisers for the first time this week, walks a delicate line, appealing to women's maturity not through its models but through the substance of its articles. Ms. Mirabella said that fully 48 percent of the magazine's content would be devoted to subjects other than fashion and personal style. "A very curious mind — that's how we see this reader," she said.

IN THE DUMMY ISSUE, that curiosity is catered to by a "conversation" between Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto of Pakistan and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain, and a series of single-page interviews with experts in various fields headlined "One-on-One."

Thanks to Lintas: Worldwide, Europeans will be able to watch locally produced and culturally relevant versions of the American television game shows "Jeopardy" and "Wheel of Fortune."

Lintas, an Interpublic Group division and one of the largest buyers of television time on the Continent, has entered into a licensing agreement with King World Productions to syndicate the two programs, with sponsorship by Unilever, the giant British-Dutch consumer-products company, throughout Europe until 1992.

Lintas is already producing "Wheel of Fortune" in several countries, including Denmark, France, Italy and Belgium. It expects to begin broadcasting "Jeopardy" in France later this year and to expand production of both programs gradually over the next several years.

The three-way deal reflects European broadcasters' growing need for programming as government restrictions on commercial broadcasting are reduced and the number of television stations increases.

"The magic of game shows is that their production costs are relatively low," said Larry Lamattina, executive vice president of Lintas Worldwide. "That allows us to have local production in these countries, in local languages, with the programs attuned to local cultures in their questions, answers and prizes."

**GM Yields Bonus for All Stocks**

**Dividend Boosts Push Market Up**

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

DETROIT — Dividend increases by General Motors Corp. on its three common stock classes boosted the company's shares and the entire market on Tuesday.

In its moves late Monday, GM also declared a 2-for-1 stock split and changed its dividend payout policy on class E and class H stock, so that shareholders would receive a bigger proportion of the profits from the two subsidiaries represented by those shares.

GM stock rose \$4.375 per share Tuesday afternoon, and it helped lead the entire market higher. Computer-related buying programs sent the Dow Jones industrial average up 26.07 points, to 2,347.14. GM is a component of the 30-stock index.

"What spurred the program buying was General Motors," said Thom Brown, managing director of Rutherford Brown & Catherwood. Mr. Brown said the adage "as General Motors goes, so goes the market" is still true.

Securities analysts had noted that there would be pressure for GM to raise its dividends because Ford Motor Co. boosted its payout in January.

Ronald Glantz of Montgomery Securities Inc. estimated the automaker had \$8.3 billion in cash and marketable securities at the end of 1988. That compared with \$4.7 billion a year earlier, he said, "enough to pay all debts and still have money left over."

GM's quarterly cash dividend on its common shares increased 20.0 percent, to \$1.50 a share from \$1.25 a share; the dividend on class E shares, representing the Electronic Data Systems Corp. subsidiary, rose 41.2 percent, to 24 cents a share from 17 cents; and the dividend on class H shares, representing the GM Hughes Electronics Corp., rose 63.6 percent, to 18 cents a share from 11 cents.

At the end of trading Tuesday, GM common stock was at \$93.875 a share. At that price and with the new dividend, the annual yield would be 6.4 percent. The class E shares were up 12.5 cents, to \$44.375, for a yield of 2.2 percent, and the class H shares rose 37.3 cents, to \$26.875, for a 2.7 percent yield.

Ford stock rose \$1.125, to \$55.875, where it yielded 5.4 percent. Chrysler Corp., the third major U.S. automaker, was up \$1, to \$28.50, a 3.5 percent yield.

Last month, Roger B. Smith, chairman of GM, said the company's 1988 net income would be a record. The figures are to be announced later this month.

GM's board also altered the dividend policy of class E shares to pay out roughly 30 percent of annual profit as dividends, compared with 25 percent previously. The board changed the policy on class H shares so that 35 percent of earnings would be paid out, up from 25 percent. (NYT, Reuters)



Alfred C. DeCrane Jr., Texaco's president, said the company will prosper following its restructuring.

**Raising Money to Pay the Bills**

During the last five years Texaco has sold assets to finance the Petrochemicals, pay special dividends and satisfy Government claims. In billions of dollars.

SALES	PAYMENTS
June 1988, sold Deutsche Texaco to Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk, a West German utility. \$1.23	March 1988, agreed to set aside down payment over four years on \$8.5 billion in taxes the Internal Revenue Service claims the company owes. \$1.00
June 1988, sold a half interest in the refining, distribution and sales network in 23 East Coast and Gulf states to Saudi Arabia. 1.80	April 1988, paid settlement to Petrochemicals as part of plan to emerge from bankruptcy. 3.00
June 1988, announced plans to sell 600 domestic and Gulf of Mexico properties that produce oil and gas. To date, 400 have been sold. 0.30	Aug. 1988, agreed to payments to Energy Department to settle an overcharge dispute; to be paid over four years. 1.25
Jan. 1989, sold its 78% share in Texaco Canada to Imperial Oil. Includes dividends. 3.81	Jan. 1989 announced plans to pay special shareholder dividends. 1.90
	Jan. 1989, announced stock repurchases. 0.50

Source: Company reports

**Nightmare Ends for Texaco**

**Now Analysts Wonder How Good an Oil Company It Is**

By Matthew L. Wald

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Texaco Inc. has survived the largest jury verdict ever awarded, the biggest bankruptcy ever filed and an attack by Carl C. Icahn, the corporate raider.

Now the question is: How good an oil company is it?

The issue is how well the company can find, refine and market petroleum. The answers are murky, analysts say. While Texaco has taken steps to improve its operations, it will be years before the results are clear.

Alfred C. DeCrane Jr., Texaco's president, said the company would prosper as a result of its recent restructuring.

"We know we're going to be smaller," he said. "That doesn't mean we're not an international company. We still have 6 percent of the world market for oil products."

The ability of analysts to evaluate Texaco is limited by the rash of changes in the company that have come with its recent \$7 billion restructuring and by a lack of detail in the financial figures it released.

But some problems are clear, most of all Texaco's ability to find oil. That weakness that drove it to buy Getty Oil Co. five years ago, setting off a long detour into a corporate minefield.

"Their Achilles' heel has always been upstream operations," said Paul B. Ting, an analyst for Oppenheimer & Co., referring to the exploration and production side of the business.

Texaco, based in White Plains, New York, is far more successful in the downstream functions of refining and marketing gasoline and other petroleum products, and in producing petrochemicals.

One of Texaco's biggest problems in recent years has been replacing the oil it takes out of the ground — about 600 million barrels of oil and its equivalent in natural gas each year.

Through discoveries and revisions of previous estimates, Texaco added to its reserves only 70 percent as much oil and gas as it pumped in 1987. It expects that its 1988 replacement will also be about 70 percent. It replaced 46 percent in 1986 and 34 percent in 1985.

How an oil company decides where to drill and where not to is among its most closely held secrets, so it is difficult for outsiders to say exactly why Texaco's track record on oil exploration has been so poor.

But in the 1970s, the company managed to stay away from where the oil was and to go where it was not. It decided not to invest in Alaskan exploration and to put little into the North Sea, but to spend millions on a fruitless drilling effort in the North Atlantic.

"They know they've done rotten in that area," said Frank P. Kneetzel, who follows Texaco for Prudential-Bache Securities Inc.

Mr. Kneetzel praised Texaco for recently deciding to centralize the management of its exploration efforts, so that worldwide drilling prospects can be compared. Previously, regional managers were allowed to pick prospects within their regions.

Texaco executives can concentrate on such moves because, for the first time in several years, they are not preoccupied with legal challenges and external threats.

But by some measures, Texaco's ability to look for oil will diminish in the years to come.

Bryan Jacobowski, an oil company analyst at

See TEXACO, Page 13

**McDonnell Gets Massive Order For New Planes**

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — In an order with a potential value of more than \$9 billion, five airlines on Tuesday placed firm orders to buy 20 aircraft from McDonnell Douglas Corp. and took options to acquire another 156 planes.

The largest order came from American Airlines, which said it would buy eight long-range MD-11 aircraft and acquire options for up to 42 more. It said it would also take options on 100 MD-80 short-to-medium-range jetliners.

American did not disclose how much the order was worth, but said the orders involve "a minimum capital commitment on American's part and were negotiated at attractive rates."

Industry officials said earlier that the MD-11s would cost about \$90 million each and the MD-80s \$19 million to \$20 million each, making the American order worth about \$6.5 billion if all the jets are delivered.

Other airlines placing orders for McDonnell Douglas aircraft Tuesday included Air Europe of Britain, which said it would buy six MD-11s and take options on 12 more.

Aero Lloyd of West Germany placed two firm orders for the aircraft and took options for two more. ZAS Airlines of Egypt and Finnair of Finland also ordered two MD-11s each, McDonnell Douglas said.

American Airlines, which is based in Fort Worth, Texas, said it will be the first U.S. airline to take delivery of the MD-11, which will be used to fly across the Pacific as well as for transatlantic flights.

The new aircraft will replace older planes in American's fleet, which is an average of 9.4 years old, compared with 12.4 industrywide.

Analysts said the rejuvenation of American's fleet will give the carrier advantages over its competitors.

"What it does simply is to position American Airlines for the rest of the decade and gives them enormous flexibility because of the maintenance problems everyone else is having with their older fleets," said Julius Malin, an analyst at Salomon Brothers in New York.

The MD-11, which McDonnell Douglas launched in December

1986, burns 17 percent less fuel per flight than the DC-10.

American said four of the eight MD-11s on firm order will be delivered in 1990 and four in 1991. The 42 options have delivery dates of between 1992 and 1999.

The purchase by American and the other carriers — the first huge aircraft order of 1989 — comes after a year in which at least nine carriers placed jet orders for \$1 billion or more.

They included a \$5 billion order in May by International Lease Finance Corp. for 130 planes from Boeing Co. and Airbus Industrie, the European consortium, and a September order-and-option package by Delta Air Lines for 215 planes, split between Boeing and McDonnell Douglas, that could be worth \$6 billion to \$10 billion.

The big three commercial jet builders shattered order records in 1988. Boeing, with about two-thirds of the market, announced firm orders for 636 planes worth \$30.1 billion, surpassing 1987 orders by 49 percent. McDonnell Douglas had orders for 246 planes and Airbus, 167, but neither announced dollar values.

The MD-11 deals allowed McDonnell Douglas to capture about 25 percent of the commercial aircraft market in last year, Seattle-based Boeing is still the industry leader, with orders worth \$30 billion and 55 percent of the market.

Brokers analysts said that the orders for the new plane mean that the company's manufacturing program, which will cost \$1.4 billion by the time the first plane rolls off the assembly line in spring of 1990, should provide profits in 1992.

The MD-11 is a three-engine widebody aircraft, capable of carrying 405 passengers, 8,000 miles. McDonnell Douglas described the plane as a long-haul jet to serve routes that do not have the passenger volume to justify a Boeing 747.

Airbus is taking orders for its four-engine A340, which will carry about 295 passengers, 7,500 miles, but David Venz, an Airbus spokesman, said it was effectively eliminated from the American bidding because the A340 will not be available until 1992.

(Reuters, AP, UPI)

**Currency Rates**

Cross Rates	Per \$	Per £	Per ¥
Amsterdam	2.114	3.673	1.729
Berlin (West)	2.236	3.825	1.810
Frankfurt	1.923	3.236	1.558
London (S)	1.747	—	—
London (N)	1.747	—	—
Paris	1.363	2.372	1.122
New York	1.000	1.000	1.000
Tokyo	1.000	1.000	1.000
Zurich	1.000	1.000	1.000
1 SDR	1.000	1.000	1.000
1 ECU	1.000	1.000	1.000

Currencies in London, Tokyo and Zurich, figures in other centers. New York closing rates. a. Commercial bank; b. To buy one pound; c. To buy one yen; d. Units of 100; N.Q.: not quoted; N.A.: not available.

Other Dollar Values	Per \$	Per £	Per ¥
Australian	1.436	2.472	1.180
Belgian	1.337	2.372	1.122
Canadian	1.337	2.372	1.122
Chinese	1.337	2.372	1.122
French	1.337	2.372	1.122
German	1.337	2.372	1.122
Italian	1.337	2.372	1.122
Japanese	1.337	2.372	1.122
South African	1.337	2.372	1.122
Swedish	1.337	2.372	1.122
Swiss	1.337	2.372	1.122
Thai	1.337	2.372	1.122
West German	1.337	2.372	1.122

Forward Rates	30-day	60-day	90-day
London	1.747	1.777	1.775
Paris	1.363	1.372	1.372
Frankfurt	1.923	1.923	1.923
1 SDR	1.000	1.000	1.000
1 ECU	1.000	1.000	1.000

Source: Reuters, Bank of Tokyo (Tokyo), MAF (SDR), BAI (Euro, rival, dollar), Deutscher (Frankfurt), Other data from Reuters and AP.

**Interest Rates**

Barocurrency Deposits	Per \$	Per £	Per ¥
1 month	9.00%	9.00%	9.00%
3 months	9.00%	9.00%	9.00%
6 months	9.00%	9.00%	9.00%
1 year	9.00%	9.00%	9.00%

Source: Reuters, Quarterly (Dollar, DM, SF, Pound, FF, yen), Lloyds Bank (ECU); Reuters (1987).

Notes applicable to interbank deposits of \$1 million (minimum for each deposit).

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Notes applicable to interbank deposits of \$1 million (minimum for each deposit).



## (Continued)

Arbed SA, whose financial results are accumulated in billion francs from its balance sheet, is a company based in Luxembourg. It is to be proposed to the shareholders at a meeting on Feb. 10.

Arbed said a dividend of 10 francs more than last year's. More than 90% of the company's stock is held by the Luxembourg government and the province of Belgium.

The proposed balance-sheet changes involve setting off Arbed's losses against the company's reserves and share capital.

**LUXEMBOURG** — Arbed SA is planning to change its financial structure to remove its accumulated losses of 17.5 billion francs (\$442.7 million) from its balance sheet and allow the company to resume dividends, a company spokesman said Tuesday.

The operation is to be proposed to the steel maker's shareholders at an extraordinary meeting on Feb. 27, the spokesman said.

Arbed has not paid a dividend for more than 10 years. More than 30 percent of the company's stock is owned by the Luxembourg state and Société Générale de Belgique, Belgium's largest company.

The steel company has forecast a nonconsolidated net profit of about 2 billion francs for 1984, reversing a year-earlier loss of billion francs.

Arbed, one of the few profitable European steel producers in the mid-1980s, ran into trouble in 1983 because of a weak market. It is enjoying a general recovery in the industry since last year. The company's steelmakers and the construction industry for increased demand.

The company, Luxembourg's largest industrial employer, is not expected to pay a dividend on the profit but there is speculation it might resume payouts from 1984.

The proposed balance-sheet changes involve setting off Arbed's losses against the company's reserves and share capital.



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## CURRENCY MARKETS

## Securities Markets Bolster Dollar

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

**NEW YORK** — The dollar closed slightly higher Tuesday against most currencies, after drawing late impetus from the positive performance of U.S. stock and bond markets, dealers said.

The recovery arrested a decline in European and early New York trading that saw the U.S. currency lose as much as one penny against the Deutsche mark, as investors worried about the possibility of further central-bank intervention after Monday's concerted action.

Although dealers noted that relatively high U.S. interest rates provided the dollar with some support, they were divided on whether sentiment remained strong or whether Monday's aggressive intervention had changed the mood.

The dollar finished unchanged at 1.8720 DM, while it rose to 129.51 yen from 129.42 on Monday. The currency also advanced to 1.5904 Swiss francs from 1.5898, but it eased to 6.3695 French francs from 6.3725.

The British pound edged lower to close at \$1.7373 from \$1.7375. At the London close, the dollar fell to 1.8675 DM from 1.8780 at

## London Dollar Rates

Currency	Tue.	Mon.
Deutsche mark	1.8720	1.8720
Swiss franc	1.5904	1.5898
French franc	6.3695	6.3725

Source: Reuters

the previous close, and dipped slightly to 129.30 yen from 129.65.

Makoto Aratake, a customer dealer at Bank of Tokyo in London, said underlying sentiment on the dollar had not changed, but the markets were in a lull partly as a result of former West German interest rates.

West German call money rose to just below the 6 percent Lombard emergency funding rate from around 5.85 percent on Monday, dealers said.

A subsidiary concern in the market, dealers said, was the plan announced Monday by the administration of President George Bush to issue \$50 billion in bonds to help bail out the ailing U.S. thrift industry. They said this might ultimately increase the U.S. budget deficit.

The dollar had touched five-month highs just under 1.89 DM on Monday, triggering aggressive open-market intervention by the U.S. Federal Reserve and nine other central banks in Western Europe and Canada. But on Tuesday, the banks kept to the sidelines throughout Europe's trading day.

The recent upward trend in U.S. rates was illustrated by the Treasury auction of three-year notes at a 9.18 percent yield, the highest rate since August 1985.

The 9.18 percent average yield was the highest since Aug. 6, 1985, when the average yield on a three-year Treasury note reached 9.53 percent. The three-year notes in the last refunding auction in November yielded 8.59 percent.

Long-term bond yields, however, declined, as prices rose. The return on the bellwether 30-year issue fell to 8.80 percent from 8.84 percent on Monday. The lower yields on long-term securities than issues with short maturities is an inversion of the usual pattern. It indicates the credit markets foresee a near-term rise in interest rates followed by a decline. (Reuters, UPI)

## U.S. Credit Up At 9.9% Rate In December

**WASHINGTON** — U.S. consumer credit rose a seasonally adjusted \$5.44 billion in December, for an annualized growth rate of 9.9 percent, after a revised increase of \$4.66 billion in November, the Federal Reserve Board said Tuesday.

The 9.9 percent rate was up from an 8.5 percent November rate.

For all of 1988, the amount of consumer credit outstanding rose 9.9 percent, to \$679.29 billion at the end of December from \$623.63 billion a year earlier.

Automobile credit rose a seasonally adjusted \$2.96 billion in December after an increase of \$1.37 billion in November. Revolving credit was up \$1.40 billion, compared with \$3.19 billion the previous month.

## Banker Says South Africa Hurt but Surviving Sanctions

By Christopher Wren

New York Times Service

**CAPE TOWN** — South Africa is surviving the damage of Western economic sanctions, despite a reduced annual growth rate and a heavy capital outflow, according to the head of the central bank.

Gerhard de Kock, governor of the South African Reserve Bank, said that sanctions had contributed to a net outflow of 25 billion rand (\$10.39 billion) from South Africa over the last four years. Half of that, he said, went to pay off debts that became due as foreign banks began calling in loans.

"But we have made the adjustment, we have repaid the debt and we have run huge current-account surpluses," Mr. de Kock said Monday at a briefing for foreign journalists. He added that South Africa reduced its foreign debt to about \$21.5 billion in 1988 from \$27.5 billion in 1985.

New financial sanctions aimed at isolating South Africa in the international money market are being discussed this week by eight Commonwealth nations. The foreign ministers of these nations — Australia, Canada, Guyana, India, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — are attending a three-day meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe.

Previous economic sanctions, which have included making Western companies pull out of South Africa or cut their trade links, have

## Tougher Currency Policing

Reuters

**JOHANNESBURG** — South Africa's central bank on Tuesday announced tighter measures to stop abuses of foreign-exchange controls after a series of currency scandals.

The Reserve Bank will boost the number of inspectors and increase interdepartmental cooperation to better detect attempted currency fraud. Gerhard de Kock, the governor, said in a statement. South Africa uses a two-tier currency system to prevent a flight of capital. In addition to the commercial rand, currently trading at 2.4055 to the dollar, there is a financial rand, a restricted investment currency, which trades at a discount of about 40 percent. Most people taking money out of the country must use the lower rate.

Mr. de Kock said this system left scope for fraud, was hard to enforce and was only partially effective, but it remained necessary. Police said last month they were investigating foreign-exchange fraud cases involving 550 million rand. An official probe into business scandals involving the nominally independent tribal homelands exposed illegal currency deals totaling 100 million rand.

tried to force the country to change its apartheid policies.

Proponents argue that such punitive measures are needed to show disapproval and convince South Africa it must dismantle laws perpetuating racial discrimination. The U.S. Congress enacted a package of sanctions in 1986 and there is pressure among Democratic Party congressmen to do so again.

Critics of sanctions, among them some white South Africans opposed to apartheid, have said that blacks are the first to suffer because jobs and social programs are lost.

Mr. de Kock supported his government's argument that sanctions do not work, but based his contention on economic statistics. He said the burden of debt repayment had slowed South Africa's rate of growth and caused living standards to decline in 1985 and 1986.

But he added that inflation-adjusted growth in gross domestic product had climbed to about 3 percent last year, compared with 2.5 percent in 1987 and only 1 percent in 1986.

Without sanctions and disinvestment, he estimated, South Africa's

growth rate would have reached 4 or 5 percent a year. He anticipated a 2 percent rise this year.

He also said the annual inflation rate had been reduced last year to 12.9 percent from 18.6 percent in 1986 and 16.1 percent in 1987. He conceded that the rate might climb back to 15 percent this year, and was still "unacceptably high" compared with the more modest inflation rates in industrial countries.

One consequence has been a steady decline in the value of the rand, currently worth 2.4055 to the dollar. In allowing the rand to depreciate and interest rates to rise, Mr. de Kock said, the government improved its trade balance by encouraging both exports and domestic substitutes for imports.

As a result, he said, South Africa's current account, a measure of trade that includes both merchandise and services, showed a surplus of 2.5 billion rand in 1988.

The current account was in deficit by 410 million rand in the first quarter of 1988, but Mr. de Kock said the surplus ran at an annual rate of 5 billion rand in the fourth quarter.

South Africa, the world's leading gold producer, has also been hurt by the decline in gold prices. The Reserve Bank is basing its economic projections on a gold price of about \$400 an ounce. "If it rises, it will be a bonanza, but we are not banking on it," Mr. de Kock said.

## Tuesday's NASDAQ Prices

Prices as of 4 p.m. New York time. This list, compiled by the AP, consists of the 100 most traded securities in terms of dollar value. It is updated twice a year. Via The Associated Press

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## World Stock Markets

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## SPORTS

## Borg Treated for a Pill Overdose

MILAN — Bjorn Borg, the former Swedish tennis star, was treated in a Milan hospital on Tuesday for an overdose of sleeping pills but his advisers denied speculation in the Italian media that he had tried to commit suicide.

Borg, who left the hospital after having his stomach pumped, told reporters with a smile: "I'm all right, it's all over."

In Stockholm, his personal adviser, Ingemar Alverdal, told Swedish radio that Borg had been struck by stomach pains after a meal in a Milan restaurant on Monday night.

"Borg took a couple of sleeping pills but didn't feel any better so he decided to go to hospital," Alverdal said.

"Borg is such a big name that even a perfectly normal hospital visit would spark this kind of rumor."

Accompanied by his Italian fiancée, singer Loredana Berté, Borg returned by taxi to their Milan apartment, where he spoke briefly to journalists before rushing inside.

Police and hospital doctors said Borg, who won five consecutive Wimbledon championships, had taken an overdose of Rohypnol, a sleeping pill and tranquilizer related to valium.

Doctors said it was not a barbiturate, as first reported by the Italian media.

A spokeswoman for the hospital, asked

about the cause of Borg's illness, said: "We don't know anything. We were told by Borg's manager not to say anything. As a hospital we have to respect that." She did not identify the manager.

Two friends of Berté and Borg, Mara Savastano and Alessandro Raci, separately denied to journalists that there had been any suicide attempt.

Savastano said that Borg had been taken ill with food poisoning while Raci told reporters Borg had merely taken a couple of sleeping pills after being unable to sleep.

Berté, 38, a pop singer, and Borg, 32, were reported to be shocked last month after the Roman Catholic Church turned down their request for a church wedding in Milan because both are divorced.

Eight hours before Borg was taken to hospital, a New York television station broadcast an interview with his former companion, Janette Björling, in which she said she would sue for custody of their child if Borg married Berté.

In the interview taped last week, she said: "If they get married, they can have children by themselves. So why should I let them have Robin, if I can have Robin?"

Borg and Björling, a former model, split last year. They each have son Robin for two-week

stints. But Björling said if Borg married "I want to have full custody."

Björling agreed that Borg would brood occasionally and that he went through dark periods "like everybody does."

"He wants so much from life," Björling said. "He always wants so much to happen all the time."

Berté called an ambulance for Borg around 9 A.M. on Tuesday and he was rushed to the hospital. Doctors said he was in no danger soon after his stomach was pumped.

The couple both left the hospital by a side door on stretchers, reporters at the scene said, but they added that this seemed merely a trick to escape crowds of journalists. Once outside the building they got into a taxi.

Hospital staff said Borg had not looked ill after the treatment and was chatting with Berté. A friend at the apartment told reporters that the tennis ace, one of the world's greatest players in the late 1970s, was resting but was well.

In Monte Carlo organizers of an annual tournament there next April said Borg had phoned last week to confirm his participation. He had seemed depressed about the rejection of his attempt to marry Berté in church, they said.

Borg was previously married for four years to Romanian tennis player Mariana Simionescu. Berté is divorced from an Italian businessman.



Borg earlier this year with his fiancée, Loredana Berté.



Spain's little wonder, Emilio Butragueño, on the attack.

## Spanish Revenge Lurks in Belfast

LONDON — Let no one kid you that soccer folk are not vengeful men.

Spain is preparing dire retribution against Northern Ireland in Belfast on Wednesday.

On the face of it, this is only a soccer match, worth two World Cup qualifying points that would be just another Spanish step closer to the 1990 finals.

But it's a far, far bigger day of reckoning than that. Spain has waited almost seven years to expunge the humiliation of losing at home to Northern Ireland during the 1982 World Cup.

That was a wild night in Valencia. I shall never forget the aftermath of Spain's players slumped around their five-star hotel, unable to sleep or to ignore Irish victory songs going on into the wee small hours.

Here was the real humiliation. Nothing more than a golf course and a swimming pool separated the two camps, and the ribald Irish celebration — in and around the pool — led to spiteful Spanish accusations of drunken buffoonery.

Some drunks, some buffoons. Spain had paid the ultimate price for thinking it could brutalize and intimidate this little foe into submission.

Quite the reverse. Northern Ireland's great act at the time was to play David to anybody's Goliath — to go where it hurts, smack the bully on the nose and dare it to respond in kind.

The odds were ludicrous. Spain's 36 million inhabitants, seemingly all besotted with soccer, couldn't put down a province where soccer ranks at best a minority diversion among 1.5 million people.

Just about the only thing they have in common is that Spain can persuade Basques, Catalans and Madrileños to pull together in its national soccer team, and Northern Ireland fleetingly forgets its divisive terrorism while Catholic plays side by side with Protestant in the green jerseys.

Seven years is a fearful time to live with that 1-0 upset in Valencia, which nailed down the coffin of Spanish elimination from the World Cup on home soil.

The first ounce of vengeance was extracted in Seville four days before Christmas last. No team in history has ever beaten Spain in Seville, but the Irish contributed to their own downfall as their defenders twice deflected the ball into their own net. They also gave away a penalty, and lost 4-0.

Even that, I'm quite certain, is a first installment of what Spain intends. A second victory in Belfast would roar Northern Ireland's slender chances of qualifying for 1990.

More, it would undermine Ulster's dreams of such giant-killing again, for World Cup qualification, twice now achieved against the odds, is the lifeblood of Northern Irish soccer.

From the 1982 finals, each club in the province received £8,000 (\$13,800). From 1986 the bonus throughout the Irish League was £12,000. Without that cash the county's coaching base, and its impoverished club system, would suffer amputations.

The resilience will wither, but not die. That, as opponents in sport as well as evil bombers find, is not what happens among Ulster people.

Yet the gods are not smiling on Northern Ireland soccer now. After the Seville thrashing, its manager, Billy Bingham, had one defiant warning:

"It isn't over yet," he told the Spaniards. "We'll see what happens when we get your people to Windsor Park with snow on the hills and a hostile chill in the air."

Nice try, Billy Boy. Except there's no snow around Britain this winter, temperatures are positively balmy, and the worst forecast is rain.

Never one to be put off by reality, Bingham is a wily old so and so. "I've known the flow of the tide behind me," he muses. "And I've had it wash over me as well. I never labor deficiencies, I boost morale."

Thus, he is busy persuading his players that he's seen the flaw in Spain. "They don't travel well," he tells them. "And even in Malta last month, detected weakness; the Spaniards don't play the same attacking way away from home."

Well, no. Spain won by a mere 2-0 in Malta.

But it isn't a matter of managerial oratory. In 1982, Ulster had instinctive butlers like Gerry Armstrong and Billy Hamilton, whose bludgeoning bravery in attack revealed against the kicking, elbowing ferocity of Spain.

Armstrong's courage so impressed Real Mallorca that the club imported him to Spain. Hamilton's reward was less fulfilling — he ran himself into premature arthritic retirement by ignoring knee injuries.

Such macho tendency was shared from midfield by the then-teenaged (now also severely injured) Norman Whiteside. But there was intelligence, too.

Martin O'Neill and Sammy McIlroy were the brains of the outfit, men who could plot strategy with Bingham and carry it through. Above all there was Pat Jennings, a giant of a goalkeeper, a world class athlete in anybody's language and a source of confidence and stability through more than 100 Irish international matches.

Age has overtaken them. Northern Ireland is today a side in transition, one, to be sure, that will be told to go out there and "die" for their country.

However, you cannot order men to be more clever than they are or more brave than is good for them. What the Seville game showed is that the Irish lack experience to cope with Spain's midfield orchestrator, Michel, and the new scoring duo of Emilio Butragueño and "Manolo" Sánchez Delgado.

In just three internationals, Manolo has proven to be intuitively on Butragueño's wavelength.

There is no height to them — Manolo stands 1.64 meters (5 feet 5) and El Brute 1.7 meters. But they are little terrors around the ankles of the kinds of big defenders Northern Ireland relies upon.

Butragueño, of course, is a phenomenon whose four goals in one afternoon destroyed Denmark at the last World Cup.

Ah, but it will not have escaped Bingham's notice that Butragueño is normally hot before Christmas and cold after it. To you and to me, that sounds like a stamina problem; actually, say the Spanish, it's due to his biorhythms.

If so, some gremlins have got into his system. Out of sequence, Butragueño began the current season lethargically and was dropped. He then sprang to life after mid-season, especially for the national team.

What chance has Ireland got? The weather lets them down, the talents bow to age, and now whatever governs biorhythms has gone awry.

## NBA's Bad Boy Says He Wants a Truce

By Clifton Brown

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Ask opponents if Bill Laimbeer of the Detroit Pistons gets under their skin, and you won't find much argument.

Some players can't stand him. Others like him even less.

"Laimbeer whines too much, flopping around like a baby," said Charles Oakley of the New York Knicks.

"I guess his role is to go out and try to really agitate people," said Brad Daugherty of the Cleveland Cavaliers. "If he's trying to get on people's nerves, he's doing a good job."

Does being perhaps the most unpopular player in U.S. professional basketball bother Laimbeer? Are you kidding? Sometimes, he thrives on it.

"A lot of basketball is mental," Laimbeer said. "Some people find the way I play very frustrating. They can't handle it. I throw them off their game."

"I'm playing to win, and I'll use all my tools both physically and mentally to win the game," he said. "Other players don't like that and I can't help that. I have to do what I do best. I call it gamesmanship."

But lately, the gamesmanship has not been much fun for Laimbeer.

He has been fined twice this season for fighting and served a one-game suspension. Though he has been involved in countless shoving matches and near-fights in his nine-year career, Laimbeer always stopped short of punching someone, even when someone punched him.

But that changed on Jan. 27 in his fight with Daugherty, when both players traded wild swings and were fortunate to escape injury.

After the incident with Daugherty, Laimbeer is beginning to wonder if his reputation as the National Basketball Association's biggest villain is getting out of hand.

He would love to avoid fighting the rest of his career. But it may be too late.

The Laimbeer-Daugherty fight resulted in suspension of both players for one game without pay, as well as a \$5,000 fine.

The suspension ended Laimbeer's consecutive game streak at 685. The streak was the fourth-longest in league history, an achievement Laimbeer was proud of. Lenny Wilkens, Cleveland's

coach, had no sympathy for Laimbeer over his suspension.

"Don't tell me some of the stuff Laimbeer does isn't intentional," Wilkens said. "I played this game. There are a lot of physical players in this league, guys like Karl Malone and Moses Malone. But you never see them getting in as many incidents as Laimbeer."

Certainly, some of Laimbeer's troubles have overshadowed his accomplishments as a player.

He is a four-time All-Star and he led the league in rebounding in 1985-86. Over the last five seasons, he has more defensive rebounds than any player in the league.

Coach Gene Shue, who reportedly was at odds with his players, was fired and replaced by assistant Don Casey.

The Clippers now will try to avoid entering the record books without Dailey, who led them in scoring with a 17-point average.

Dailey, who makes \$425,000 a year and was suspended by the NBA for cocaine use when he was with Chicago, said he was being made a scapegoat, but took the indefinite suspension in stride.

"This is no big thing," said Dailey, who said the losing streak has contributed to his frustration, which contributed to his weight gain. "This is a minor problem compared with what I've been through."

Feitsov recently was ejected from SCKA Moscow, even banned from practice, and did not make the trip to Sweden with the national team.

In a Swedish television interview from Moscow, Feitsov said: "All I demand is that the relationship between players and leaders is human."

"When you're young, you don't think about those things," he said. "But when you're getting older you realize when the results really justify methods like Tikhonov's."

Tikhonov said of Feitsov, "He was a good ice hockey player when he played hockey. Now he philosophizes instead."

Tikhonov indicated Sunday that the stars may soon be gone from the national team.

"We are currently building up a new super line," Tikhonov said. "You may even see it in the World Championships. I will have at least six new players on the squad then."

The championships are scheduled for April in Stockholm.

Kent Nilsson, returning to play in Sweden after a career with the Calgary Flames and a Stanley Cup title for the Edmonton Oilers, was not impressed by the Soviets.

"They had nothing to come with except for the super line" of Larionov, Makarov and Vladimir Krutov, said Nilsson, who scored twice. "We had more of the play than usual against them, and their goalkeeper seems to be their weakest point."

"At some point, if people continue to take swings at me, I'm going to suffer permanent damage," said Laimbeer, who is 31.

"Believe me, I don't like to fight, to be involved in so many incidents. It causes me tremendous hassles, both physically and mentally," Laimbeer said. "I play for the Pistons and I want to have a good reputation in Detroit. I don't want to cause problems for our organization. I don't care that people in other towns boo me, as long as people in Detroit care about the way I play."

He added, "But I truly believe that because of the reputation I've had attached to me, other coaches and general managers tell their players to stand up to my aggressive play. A lot of players don't know how to do that, other than by hitting, swinging and elbowing."

Some believe that Laimbeer has been asking for trouble for years. Without a doubt, he is one of the league's most physical players. Laimbeer jockeying for rebounding position — a shove here, a bump there — is no study in finesse.

Although most opponents stop short of calling Laimbeer a dirty player, they see some of his tactics as flagrantly excessive and unnecessary. Thus, opponents feel compelled to retaliate.

"I don't really think Laimbeer's a dirty player," Daugherty said. "A lot of times, very physical stuff that happens on the court goes unnoticed. Pushing and shoving is part of the game. But cheap shots when the referee isn't looking takes the fun out of the game. The only real problem I had with Laimbeer was because he elbowed me in the throat."

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Bill Laimbeer's grimace is not the issue; hips and elbows are.

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## A Resurgent Syracuse Tops Seton Hall, 85-79; Arizona Moves to No. 1

United Press International

The Syracuse Orangemen, ranked 10th in United Press International's coaches' poll, showed Monday that they are still capable of fulfilling the expectations of either their greatest fans or detractors this season.

Sherman Douglas scored 28 points and Stephen Thompson

added 23 to power the Orangemen to an 85-79 victory over eighth-ranked Seton Hall, the Orangemen's sixth straight victory and 17th in a row over the Pirates.

In the Top-20 rankings, Arizona moved into the No. 1 position. (See Scoreboard)

Despite the winning streak and the key road victory, the small margin indicated that the Orangemen, 20-4 overall, are still in danger of losing close games at the foul line. The Orangemen are shooting almost as well from the floor, 56 percent, as they are from the line, 59 percent.

Down by 10 with five minutes to play, Seton Hall, 19-4, got back in the game with an 8-0 run. Syracuse freshman Billy Owens, who hit his 4 previous free throws, twice missed the front end of one-and-one during the surge, which brought the Pirates within 78-76 with 2:10 remaining. But Thompson sank 2 free throws with 2:01 remaining and added a pair of jabs in the final minute, both on feeds from Douglas.

Florida State 81, Louisville 78: At Louisville, Kentucky, Tony Dawson scored 21 points and George McCloud contributed 20 to help Florida State, which had lost 11 straight at Freedom Hall, im-

prove to 18-2 overall and 6-1 in the Metro Conference. McCloud made both ends of a 1 and 1 with five seconds left for the Seminoles, who also got 18 points and 17 rebounds from Irving Thomas. Louisville (16-4 and 5-1) got 19 points from Kevin Ellison, back after missing two games with an injured knee.

Oklahoma 126, Iowa State 97: At Norman, Oklahoma, Sacey King scored 33 points and Oklahoma (19-3 and 6-1 in the Big Eight) poured in 81 second-half points. Skeeter Henry had 18 points and Mookie Blaylock added 17 for the Sooners, who had six players in double figures. Iowa State (11-8 and 2-5) was led by Sam Mack with 24 points.

Ohio State 70, Purdue 58: At Columbus, Ohio, Jay Brunson scored 25 points and Jerry Francis added 15 to help Ohio State (16-5) gain a four-way tie for second in the Big Ten with Illinois, Michigan and Iowa, all 5-3. Ryan Bering scored 16 points for Purdue (10-12 and 3-6).

Nevada-Las Vegas 77, Cal-State-Bakersfield 61: At Las Vegas, David Butler scored 21 points and Greg Anthony added 19 to lead Nevada-Las Vegas (15-5 and 10-1 in the Big West). The Runnin' Rebels used a 13-0 spurt to bolt to a 20-6 lead midway through the first half. The Gauchos (15-4 and 6-4) received 17 points from Mike Doyle.

Virginia Tech 71, Georgia Tech 61: At Charlottesville, Virginia, Richard Morgan scored 23 points to spark Virginia Tech's sixth straight win. The Cavaliers (13-6 and 5-2 in the Atlantic Coast Conference) share first place in the ACC with North Carolina and North Carolina State. Tom Hammonds had 23 points and 9 rebounds for Georgia Tech, 14-7 and 4-3.

## SCOREBOARD

## BASKETBALL

## NBA Standings

## EASTERN CONFERENCE

## Atlantic Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
New York	26	16	.615	0
Philadelphia	22	20	.524	4 1/2
Boston	22	23	.489	7 1/2
New Jersey	18	28	.391	12 1/2
Washington	17	27	.383	13 1/2
Charlotte	12	34	.261	18 1/2

## Central Division

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Cleveland	24	10	.706	0
Detroit	20	13	.606	3 1/2
Milwaukee	20	14	.588	4 1/2
Atlanta	17	22	.435	8 1/2
Phoenix	13	25	.344	11 1/2
Indiana	11	23	.323	13 1/2

## WESTERN CONFERENCE



